

JÖRUNDUR HILMARSSON †

Materials for a  
Tocharian  
Historical and Etymological  
Dictionary

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## Foreword

About a year before his untimely death on August 13, 1992, Dr. Jörundur Hilmarsson started writing an etymological dictionary of Tocharian. He worked on this manuscript in Reykjavík during the fall of 1991, his final semester of teaching at the University of Iceland, and during a sabbatical at the University of Leiden the following spring. This work was intended to form the basis for the Tocharian part of the New Indo-European Etymological Dictionary project in preparation in Leiden and was financially supported by a grant (*bezoekersbeurs*) from the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). In the summer of 1992, Dr. Hilmarsson started to show the manuscript to his colleagues, but did not live to receive their comments.

In writing this work Jörundur Hilmarsson dealt with one letter of the alphabet at a time, starting with words beginning in Tocharian *k*-, so that the entries for that letter are practically complete. On the other hand, there are considerable gaps in the vowel-initial words, and the text for the rest of the alphabet is fragmentary. The manuscript which the author left behind is not what he would have considered a perfectly publishable work. We do know, however, that he wanted the manuscript to be published as a separate volume in the *TIES Supplementary Series*, and Dr. Alexander Lubotsky, who followed his work in Leiden closely, generously offered his assistance in editing that volume.

The work now appearing is the author's manuscript with minimal changes. The editors have added an index of non-Tocharian forms, completed the list of references, corrected obvious clerical errors and made minor emendations of the English text, but none which might affect the author's argumentation. Brackets of the type [ ] contain cross references to entries which the author intended to add, but did not complete, as well as occasional comments from the editors, such as [Unfinished] where the author's text is broken off. The few footnotes are added by the editors.

With this work the *TIES* series completes the publication of the three volumes which Jörundur Hilmarsson was working on at the time of his death four years ago. On behalf of the Institute of Linguistics (*Málvísindastofnun*) I would like to express thanks to the many people who have assisted us in seeing these volumes through

publication. Above all, I wish to thank Jörundur Hilmarsson's family for their cooperation. I am also very grateful to the members of the *TIES* editorial advisory board for their encouragement and for contributing their expertise on editorial problems. It has been a pleasure to witness the interest in the journal and feel the demand for it expressed by the many scholars in the field of Tocharian studies who have encouraged us to continue publishing the journal in Reykjavík.

After a period of uncertainty about the future of *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* it is now clear that the journal will not be continued in Iceland. On the other hand, following discussions at the Tocharian Kolloquium of the Indogermanische Gesellschaft held in Saarbrücken last October, Jens Elmegård Rasmussen of the University of Copenhagen has been pursuing the possibility of publishing the journal in Denmark. At this stage it is hoped that *TIES*, Volume 7, will be published there in 1997, edited by Georges-Jean Pinault, Klaus T. Schmidt and Werner Winter, with Jens E. Rasmussen acting as executive editor and Lambert Isebaert as bibliographical editor. I wish the new editors the best of luck in carrying out these plans.

Reykjavík, August, 1996

Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir

## A, $\bar{A}$ , $\ddot{A}$

B  $-\bar{a}^*$  (perlative marker), A  $-\bar{a}$  (id.) is in West Tocharian only found in the combination  $*-s\bar{a} > -sa$ . The sibilant of B  $-sa$  is drawn from the obl.pl. ending  $-Vs$  to which the perlative marker has been added;  $-sa$  has thereupon been reinterpreted and generalized as a perlative marker in all numbers and all genders in West Tocharian, cf. Klingenschmitt 1975b: 156, Gippert 1987: 32sq. This marker, CT  $*-\bar{a}$ , reflects an earlier postposition and/or adverb expressing close local contact: 'near, close upon, unto, toward'. It is no longer found in free use in Tocharian, but one might see it as a prefix in B and A  $\bar{a}kl-$  'to learn, (lit.) listen to', B  $\bar{a}kartte$  'near to', and as the basis of the adj. B  $\bar{a}tstse$ , A  $\bar{a}ts\bar{a}ts$  'compact, close, thick', q.v. Etymologically, CT  $*\bar{a}$  could go back to IE  $*H_2ed$  'to', cf. Lat. *ad*, Goth. *at*, etc., with loss of the final dental before the univerbation of BA  $\bar{a}kl-$ , B  $\bar{a}kartte$ , and before the formation of the adj. B  $\bar{a}tstse$ , A  $\bar{a}ts\bar{a}ts$ , cf. Sapir 1936: 270, Pedersen 1941: 92, Van Windekens 1979: 251. Alternatively, one might assume an association with Skt.  $\bar{a}$  'unto', Gmc.  $*\bar{o}-$  in, e.g., OHG *uo-mād* 'after-mowing, second mowing', OE  $\bar{o}-leccan$  'to flatter', etc., cf. Hermann 1922: 310. An IE  $*\bar{o}$  might possibly develop into CT  $*\bar{a}$ , even though a final  $*-\bar{o}$  results in CT  $*-u > *-\bar{a}$ . [[Unfinished]].

B *aik-* 'to know, recognize' (pres. II [1sg. med.] *aikemar*, [3sg. med.] *aištrā*, [ger. I] *aišalle*, [impf. 1sg. med.] *(ai)yšimar*, [ptc.] *aišeñca*, [ptc. med.] *aikemane*, [vb. adj.] *aišamo\**, subj. II [opt. 3sg. med.] *(ai)š(i)tār*, [inf.] *aištsi*, caus. subj. I [priv.] *anaikte*, pret. III [2sg.] *ekasta (sic)*, [2sg. med.] *aiyksātaiy* (MQ), [3pl. med.] *aiksante* (KVāc 31 b1), [ptc.] *aiku*). Variant spellings of the initial diphthong occur, viz. *aiy-*, *āy-*, also monophthongized *e-*. The infinitive is variously written *aištsi*, *aišsi*, *aištsi*, *aissi*. The verbal adj. *aišamo\** 'wise, knowledgeable', formed to the pres./subj. II stem *aišā-* and also attested in the verse form *aišmo\** (pl. *aišmoñ*), has produced the derived abstract *aišamñe* (class III, 1 pl. *aišamñenta*) 'wisdom', with in turn a derived endocentric adj. *aišamñeṣṣe* 'pertaining to wisdom' and an exocentric (compounded) *šl(e)-aišamñets(e)* 'endowed with knowledge, (Skt.) *saprajña*'. The handbooks declare the form (204 Ot b3) *ekasta* to be a non-causative preterite I, but K.T. Schmidt (1986b: 142)



asserts that it is a causative preterite III. The past participle *aiku* is classified as non-causative in the handbooks; however, the formal build-up of the paradigm requires seeing this form as a causative, which appears to be possible semantically, cf. my detailed discussion of this problem in Hilmarsson 1991a: 98-105, as well as the discussion there of the formation of the privative *anaikte* (and its derivative abstract *anaikto*\*) to a causative subjunctive of class I. Had the subj. stem underlying the privative been non-causative, it could only have been of class II, and one would have expected the privative to have been *\*anaiste*, and the past participle would have been *\*aišu*, cf. B (priv.) *enklyaušätte*\* 'unheard', (past ptc.) *keklyaušu* 'heard', subj. II (inf.) *klyauštsi* 'to hear'. B *aik-* 'to know' was correctly associated with Goth. *aigan* 'to possess', Skt. *īṣe* 'I have power over, master, possess', by Pedersen (1925: 31). The meaning of the Tocharian verb can be seen as having developed from 'to possess' → 'to possess mentally' = 'to know'. As seen by the *ā*-umlaut of the prefixal syllable of the privative B *anaikte*\* the verbal root of B *aik-* must have had an *ā*-vocalism. One must therefore reconstruct a CT pres./subj. II *\*āiśā-/āikā-* and caus. subj. I *\*āikā-*. While the non-causative pres./subj. I may simply continue (as if) IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>eik-<sup>9b</sup>-*, the causative subj. I presumably continues an IE perfect *\*H<sub>2</sub>e-H<sub>2</sub>oiḱ-*, *\*H<sub>2</sub>e-H<sub>2</sub>iḱ-*. The zero grade would certainly result in CT *āikā-* and the normal grade probably also (i.e. *\*H<sub>2</sub>e-H<sub>2</sub>oiḱ-* > *\*ā-aiḱā-* > *\*āikā-*). See also B *aiśai* 'notice' (A *eše*), B *anaśai* 'exactly', B *<sup>1</sup>aiśi*\* 'knower', B *<sup>2</sup>aiśi* (= *aiśai*), B *aiśaumye* 'wise, clever', B *anaikte* 'uninformed', B *anaikto*\* 'non-information' [B *poyśi* 'All-knower']].

B *aiśai* (obl.sg., gender unknown), A *eše* (obl.sg., gender unknown) 'notice, attention, knowledge' is the obl.sg. to an unattested nom.sg. B *\*aiśo* (or *aiśiye*), presumably a feminine of class VI.2. It is found only in the phrase B *aiśai yām-*, A *eše yām-* 'to take notice of, take care of' (note, however, also the perlativ B *aiśaisa* [PK 12 J b2, b3, Thomas 1979: 9]) and in the prefixed adv. B *anaśai* 'exactly, carefully', *q.v.* The underlying *\*āiśo* (or *\*aiśiye*) is derived from the verb represented by B *aik-* 'to know' (*q.v.*), possibly from its subj. II stem *\*āiśā-*. See also B *<sup>2</sup>aiśi* (error for *aiśai* ?).

B *aiśamo*\* 'wise', see B *aik-* 'to know'.

B *aiśaumye* (adj.) 'wise, clever, learned' is an adjective of class I,1 (pl. m. *aiśaumi*). A Western dialect variant is seen in *aiśewmye*,

and Eastern dialect variants in (nom.pl. m.) *aiśomyi*, (obl.pl. m.) *aiśomyem*. While clearly related to the verb B *aik-* 'to know', the verbal adj. B *aiśamo*\* 'wise', etc., the exact formation of *aiśaumye* remains unclear. Here the adj. suffix *-iye*, syncopated *-ye*, seems to be added to an underlying form in *\*-mo* (< *\*-mōn*) or *\*-m(ā)* (< *\*-mā(n)*), but the preceding diphthong (CT *\*-æu-*) is unexplained. See also B *aik-* 'to know', B *aiśai* 'notice' (A *eše*), B *anaśai* 'exactly', B *<sup>1</sup>aiśi*\* 'knower', B *<sup>2</sup>aiśi* (= *aiśai*), B *anaikte* 'uninformed', B *anaikto*\* 'non-information' [B *poyśi* 'All-knower']].

B *<sup>1</sup>aiśi*\* (adj.) 'knower' is a *nomen agentis* of adj. class II,1 (obl.sg. *aiśim*\*) formed to the subj. II stem *āiśā-* of the verb B *aik-* 'to know'. It is usually compounded with a preceding *po* 'all' to yield a contracted *poyśi* 'All-knower, (i.e.) Buddha', [q.v.,] forming a plural of noun class III,1 (*poyśinta*). Uncontracted forms of *poyśi* 'Buddha' are extremely rare, but cf. 407 MQR a4 *po aiśi*. I am aware of only one instance where – a perhaps significantly uncontracted – *po aiśi*\* (i.e. perl.sg. H 149. 152 a1 *po aiśintsā*) is not a direct designation of the Buddha, but translates Skt. *sarvābhijñāna*, cf. Sieg & Siegling 1931: 485. An adj. formation is found in the compounded B *poyśiññe* 'pertaining to the Buddha, of the Buddha-type' with endocentric derivative B *poyśiññeṣse* (*po aiśiññeṣse*) 'Buddha-like'. Note also the participial formation *poyśeñca* 'the All-knowing, (i.e.) Buddha' with the derivative adj. *poyśeñcaññe* 'pertaining to the All-knowing'. The origins of the agentive suffix B *-i*, matched by A *-e* (cf. A *pāṣe* 'guarding'), are still unclear, but presumably it somehow reflects an *n*-stem formation (cf. Hilmarsson 1989b: 90sq. concerning this type of correspondences). See also B *aik-* 'to know', B *aiśai* 'notice' (A *eše*), B *anaśai* 'exactly', B *<sup>2</sup>aiśi* (= *aiśai*), B *aiśaumye* 'wise, clever', B *anaikte* 'uninformed', B *anaikto*\* 'non-information' [B *poyśi* 'All-knower']].

B *<sup>2</sup>aiśi* is a *hapax* of Lévi A 4 a2 *yapoy aiśi yāmtsi mākte nauṣ* that Lévi (1933: 76) translates "faire paraître la royauté comme auparavant" with *aiśi* meaning something like "ouvertement" (p. 110). However, it seems likely that *aiśi* here is either a wrong reading or ultimately a wrong spelling for *aiśai* which is quite frequent in collocation with the verb *yām-*, meaning 'to take notice of, deal with, treat'. See B *aiśai* 'notice' (A *eše*).

B *aiw-* 'to be inclined towards, to turn towards' (pres. IV [3sg. med.] *aiwoträ*, pret. Ibβ [3sg.] *aiwā-ne*, [ptc.] *aiwau*). The adverb

B *aiwol* 'towards, (Skt.) abhimukha', with the exocentric adj. *aiwoltse* 'directed towards', is in origin an abstract formed to the present IV stem *aiwo-*. It is likely that Van Windekens (1976: 141) is right in associating this verb with A *yu-* 'to incline towards' (B *yu-* 'to mature, ripen' might be the West Tocharian correspondence, assuming that its divergent meaning reflects a semantic development: 'tending towards' → 'reaching' → 'having reached, matured'). The verb (BA) *yu-* would have formed a subj. V *\*yāwā-* (cf. A *ywālune* 'inclination'), and it may be suggested that this stem produced a derivative noun *\*y(ā)wā* 'inclination, sympathy'. The collocation *\*æn + \*y(ā)wā* 'in sympathy' > *\*æywā* > *\*āiwā* served as a basis for the verb B *aiw-* as well as for the adj. B *anaiwatstse*, A *ānewāts\** 'unpleasant', *q.v.*, and *anaiwaññe\** 'pertaining to unpleasantness(?)', *q.v.* The present IV stem B *aiwo-* is to be morphophonemically interpreted as *\*oiwo-*, while the (unattested) subj. V stem B *\*aiwā-* represents *\*āiwā-*. Detailed discussion of this verb and related Tocharian forms in Hilmarsson 1991a: 125sq. [For IE connections (IE *\*jeu(H)-* 'to connect'), see A *yu-* 'to incline towards'.] See also B *anaiwatstse* 'unpleasant' (A *ānewāts\**), B *anaiwaññe\** 'pertaining to unpleasantness(?)' [B *yu-* 'to mature, ripen']].

B *aiwol* (adv.) 'towards', see B *aiw-* 'to be inclined towards'.

B *1āk* (gender unclear; possibly m. sg.) 'zeal, ardour, drive' is attested twice: Lévi S 4 a3 *mā āk k̄loytār-ñ* 'may my zeal not fail', and H add. 149 75 a3 *šeme āk nesalñe*. In the latter example *āk* may be the first member of a compound *āk-nesalñe*, so that the qualifying *šeme* does not decisively show its gender. Cognate with BA *āk-* 'to lead, drive', B *āk* reflects CT *\*ākā*, which like CT *\*akā* 'eye', *\*wakā* 'voice', could continue an IE root noun, i.e. *\*H₂eg-*, cf. Skt. (inf.) *āje* (dat.sg. *\*H₂eg-ei*) 'to drive', Lat. *agī* (inf. pass.) 'to act', *ambāgēs* 'going around, whirling', *indāgēs* 'surrounding and driving of game' (with a secondary long root vowel, cf. Watkins 1962: 20). Alternatively, B *āk*, through CT *\*ākā*, could continue an *i*-stem *\*H₂eg-i-* as does Skt. *ājī-* 'combat' or an *u*-stem like MlIrish *āg* 'battle', but in neither case do the root vocalisms match. Čop's derivation (1975a: 50-60) from IE *\*agōn* is phonologically impossible. See also B *āk-* 'to lead, drive' (A *āk-*).

B *2āk\** (gender unknown) 'ear of grain(?)' is a *hapax* of 416 M b2 */// itso paiyn=āk[a] ///*. According to Sieg & Siegling (1953: 278 n.8) *paiyn-* is to be read *šaiyn-*. This line does not appear to yield

much sense. Still, Krause (1961: 88) and Thomas & Krause (1964: 165) do not hesitate to render this word with "Ähre" (cf. also Van Windekens [1976: 157] "épi"). It is possible that they know of further attested instances that would confirm that interpretation. Should it be correct, Krause's association (*l.c.*) with B *āke*, A *āk* 'end, point', and Lat. *acus* 'chaff', etc., stands a good chance of being right, although the precise definition of the form is difficult. Van Windekens suggests (*l.c.*) that B *āk* is a borrowing from East Tocharian, but that is not an attractive solution. Rather, B *āk* might reflect CT *\*ākā* or *\*ākān*. The first could represent IE *\*H₂ekī-* or *\*H₂eku-* or even a root noun *\*H₂ek-* (an *s*-stem *\*H₂eks-* with zero grade suffix is hardly to be posited), while the latter would reflect an as if IE *\*H₂ek-ŋ-*. Under any of these perspectives the plural *āka* (if that is the form) must be secondarily formed to the singular *āk\**. In view of these morphological difficulties and especially in view of the problems of the attestation, B *āk\** must be treated with caution. Indeed, if its meaning has hitherto been incorrectly defined, it might belong with B *1āk* 'zeal, drive', in which case there would be no morphological problems. See also B *āke* 'end, point' (A *āk*), B *akāñc* 'remote, distant' (A *ākñc*), B *akwam-* 'sprout', B *akwatse* 'sharp', B *akwane* '?

B *āk-* 'to lead, drive' [forms a suppletive paradigm with B *wāy-*] (pres. II [3sg.] *āsām*, [3pl.] *ākem*, *aken-ne*, [ptc.] *aseñca*, [ptc. med.] *akemane*, [ger. I] *āsalle* (prose), *asle* (verse), pres. V [impf. 2sg.] *akoyt*), A *āk-* 'id.' [forms a suppletive paradigm with A *wā-*] (pres. II [3pl.] *ākeñc-ām*, [3sg. med.] *āsiträ-m*, [ptc.] *āsant\**, [ptc. med.] *ākmām*). The B impf. *akoyt* (Pe 1 b5) looks as if formed to a present V stem, but as the impf. *makoymar* to the verb B *māk-* 'to run' (with a present II formation) owes its form to the opt. *mākoy-* to a subj. V stem *mākā-*, so *akoy-* may bear witness to the influence of a previously existing – but not necessarily original – subj. V stem *\*ākā-* (cf. Krause 1952: 109). The CT present stem preforms were *\*āsā-/ākā-*, reflecting IE *\*H₂eg-eb-*, cf. Skt. *ājati* 'drives', Lat. *agō* 'I drive, lead', etc. Etymology originally by Petersen (1933: 19). See also B *1āk* 'zeal, ardour, drive'.

B *akākatte* (adj. *hapax*) 'uninvited' is a privative formation to B *\*kākā-*, suppletive subj. V stem to the verb B *kwā-* 'to call, invite', *q.v.*, reflecting CT *\*an-kākāttae*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 21sq.

**B** *akalye* (m. sg.), *A āklye* (m. sg.) 'study, doctrine' is a noun of class VI,1 (obl.sg. *B āklyi*). Variant spelling with lost palatalization occurs in both languages. The perl.sg. form *B akalyisa* (Thomas & Krause 1964: 161) does not occur; it has been posited on the basis of an erroneous guess of Sieg & Siegling 1953: 114 n.15. The abstract *A ākālyune\** 'discipline, learning' is formed to *A āklye*. *B akalye* and *A āklye* are formed as abstracts to the verb *B* and *A ākl-*, cf. similarly *B laliye* 'effort', *A lāle* 'callosity', to the verb *B lāl-* 'to make an effort'. *B akalye*, *A āklye* reflect CT *\*āklāyæ*, possibly from earlier *\*āklāñæ(n)* (cf. discussion in Hilmarsson 1989b: 91), but the origin of the noun class VI,1 suffix is debated. See also *B ākl-* 'to learn' (*A ākl-*), *B klyaus-* 'to hear' (*A klyos-*), *B klyomo* 'noble' (*A klyom*), *B -kālywe* 'fame' (*A -klyu*), *B klautso* 'ear' (*A klots*), *B klāw-* 'to be called' (*A klāw-*), *B klāwi* 'renown'.

**B** *akāñc* (adj. indecl. or adv.[?]), *A ākiñc* 'distant, secluded' is in West Tocharian a hapax of H 149. 148 a3 (= U 24 a3) *akāñc spē leke asā[n]* translating Skt. *prāntam ca śayanāsanam*. The East Tocharian form is also a hapax, occurring isolated and without context in 353 b4; its meaning is posited on the basis of that of the West Tocharian form. Formally, *B akāñc* is somewhat problematic – not so much because of its vocalisms that are understandable in view of the western dialect provenience of the text (inferable from, e.g., line b5 *pālsko pāṣṣāt*) but rather because of the lack of an ending. It seems unlikely that *B akāñc* is a borrowing from East Tocharian – even if one were to assume that the borrowing took place before palatal epenthesis arose in the latter language. *A priori*, one would expect an East Tocharian noun (subst. or adj.) in *-ñc* to be matched by *B -ñce* (cf. *A āriñc* 'heart' and *B arañce*). However, *B akāñc* could be used adverbially in its context, whereby it could be interpreted as a petrified obl.sg. of a noun of class V,2 (type *B arañce*, obl.sg. *arañc*), cf. *B kauc*, *A koc* (adv.) 'up, high' that could be given a similar interpretation. *B* (MQ) *akāñc* < *\*ākāñc*, and *A ākiñc* < *\*ākāñc* < *\*ākāñc*, would thus reflect CT *\*ākāñcā(n)*, formed to CT *\*ākæ* (*B āke*, *A āk* 'end, point, tip'). *B akañcar* (distrib. adv.) 'at a distance, secluded' is a hapax of 542 M b3 *akañcar wṣeññam* translating Skt. *prāntāni śayanāsanāni*. Although the Sanskrit text again employs an adjective, the Tocharian translation uses an adverbial construction. While *akañcar* is probably to be seen as secondary to *akāñc*, the possibility cannot be excluded that the latter is a back-formation to the first, whereby the morphological

problems outlined above would be removed. See also *B āke* (*A āk*) 'end, point, tip', *B 2āk* 'ear of grain(?)', *B akwam-* 'sprout', *B akwatse* 'sharp', *B akwane* '?

**A** *ākār* 'tear', see *B akrūna* (*A ākār*).

**B** *akartte* (adv.) 'near, close to, (Skt.) samīpe' is twice attested so, once written *akarte*, and once *akārtte* (Sieg & Siegling 1949: 87). This word has repeatedly been analyzed by Van Windekens (1972[74]: 141, 1976: 141, 1979: 93) as formed with what he terms "the intensive prefix *a-*", and this has been met with approval by Ivanov (1988: 57) and Thomas (1985: 138); this prefix would actually be more correctly defined as the local prefix 'in' (CT *\*æn-*). However, the internal *-ā-* precludes this suggestion, for the initial *B a-* < *\*ā(n)-* would arise only through *ā*-umlaut; lacking the conditioning factor for such an umlaut one would have expected *B \*ekartte*. The status of *a-* as a prefix might be saved though, if one assumes it reflects either CT *\*ā-* from IE *\*ō-* 'unto, toward, near', an alternant of *\*ē* of similar meaning, or CT *\*ā-* from an originally free-standing *\*ā* < IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>ed* 'unto, toward'. Van Windekens' association of *-kartte* with Lith. *gretā*, *gretāi* 'beside', *grėtas* 'neighbouring, near to, placed beside', etc., may well be correct. The CT preform *\*ākārt(t)æ* would then reflect (as if) IE *\*ō-grt-o-*, or through CT *\*ākārt(t)æ* an (as if) IE *\*ō-gret-o-*. See discussion of the formation of *B akartte* in Hilmarsson 1991a: 118sq. For the prefix, see *B -ā\** (perlative marker) (*A -ā*), *B ākl-* 'to learn' (*A ākl-*), *B ātstse* 'compact, thick' (*A ātsāts*).

**A** *ākās* '?' is a hapax of 63 a5 *weñār wākmtsam āvahantu ākās aṣiṣ mangalntu* 'they uttered excellent invocations, ā., benedictions [and] auspicious signs'. It is likely that *ākās* in this context is a loanword, and not – as suggested by Poucha 1955: 16 – cognate with *A āk* 'end'.

**B** *akautatte\** (adj.) 'unbreakable, unbroken' is a privative formation to *B \*kāutā-*, the subj. V stem to the verb *B kaut-* 'to break', *q.v.*, reflecting CT *\*æn-kāutāttæ*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 22.

**B** *akauwse* '?' is a hapax of St.a (= St.Ch. 00316a) a6 *ekṣinekaṃṇāna misa akau[wse]* – – – 'peacock(?) / dove(?) flesh *akauwse* – – –'. Unfortunately, the meaning of this word cannot be gathered from the context, and no etymology can be ventured.

**B āke** (m. sg.), **A āk** (gender unknown, only sg.) 'end, point, tip' appears to be a neuter of class III,1 (B pl. *akenta\**). Several derivatives are formed directly to these forms. **B akek** 'finally' (*hapax*) is an adverb extended with the emphatic particle *-k*. Endocentric adj. **B akeṣṣe** 'pertaining to the end' (Krause & Thomas 1960: 79). The exocentric adj. **B aketstse\*** 'the last' (*hapax* of H add. 149. 62 a5, Couvreur 1966: 165 n.15) has a match in the possessive adj. **A ākatsum** 'having as an end' (*hapax* of 154 b2, Couvreur 1955-56: 70), formed to an underlying **A \*ākats** from CT *\*ākātstsæ*. A possessive adj. **B akeñe** 'of the border, of the outskirts' is found in T.P. a4 (Lévi 1913: 320) *akeñe ypoyä* 'borderland, outskirt district'. Also **B akessu** 'having an end, final, last' (once *akesu*) is a possessive adj. to **B āke**. **A -ākum\*** of 462 a3 *sne [ā]ku(m)*, a *hapax* translating Skt. *anantam*, is formed with the possessive suffix *-um* to **āk**, and thus means 'not having an end'. For **B akāñc** 'remote', **A ākiñc**, **B akañcar**, see **B akāñc**. Etymologically, this family of words has been associated with the IE root *\*H<sub>2</sub>ek-* 'sharp, pointed' (Meillet 1911b: 462). The CT preform was *\*ākæ* from an IE *s*-stem *\*H<sub>2</sub>ek-os*, cf. Lat. *acus* 'chaff', Goth. *ahs* 'ear of grain' (lit. 'that which is pointed'). Although the possessive suffix **B -ssu** in its origins reflects an extension in *\*-unt-* to *s*-stems, the **B** adj. *akessu* does not necessarily prove the existence of the *s*-stem posited here (pace Van Windekens 1976: 157), for *-ssu* has enjoyed some productivity. See also **B akāñc** 'remote, distant' (**A ākiñc**), **B <sup>2</sup>āk** 'ear of grain(?)', **B akwam-** 'sprout', **B akwatse** 'sharp', **B akwane** '?'.

**B ākl-** 'to learn' (pres. IX [ptc.] *aklaṣṣeñca\**, [ger. I] *akalšälle*, subj. IV [3sg. med.] *aklyitär*, [opt. 3pl. med.] *aklyiyenträ* (prose), [inf.] *aklyitsi*, [abstr.] *aklyilñe*, (intens.?) pret. Iba [3sg. med.] *aklyyate* (verse), [past ptc.] *āklu*, caus. pres. IX [3sg.] *āklāṣṣäm*, [3sg. med.] *āklāstär-ne*, [ger. I] *āklāṣṣälle*, **A ākl-** 'id.' (pres. VIII [3pl. med.] *ākälšanträ*, [ger. I] *ākälšäl*, [inf.] *āklässi*, pret. I [past ptc.] *āklu*, caus. pres. VIII [3sg.] *ākläṣ*, [3pl.] *ākälseñc*). Note that in the causative, the meaning of this verb is 'to teach, (i.e.) to make learn'. In West Tocharian, the causatives of class IX are characterized by initial accentuation. The gerundive *akalšälle*, beside *aklaṣṣälle*, (in verse often *akalšle*) 'pupil, disciple' is therefore not only semantically but also formally to be seen as non-causative. In East Tocharian, the present VIII formations of the non-causative and the causative are identical, but it seems that in finite forms of this verb the semantic difference is expressed through medial conjugation of the non-causatives as opposed to

active conjugation of the causatives, cf. K.T. Schmidt 1969: 356. For the preterite formation in West Tocharian, cf. Winter 1961. The subj. IV formation of this verb in West Tocharian (like the subj. IV formation of other verbs) has replaced an earlier athematic subj. I formation, cf. discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 86sq.; note the lack of palatalization of the non-causative past participle **BA āklū**, confirming the previous presence of an athematic subj. I formation. The present IX and VIII formations can be seen as formed on the basis of the underlying class I formation of the subjunctive. For any etymological evaluation of this verb, it is important to make clear the original root structure behind *\*āklä-*. While a form like the **B** pres. ptc. *aklaṣṣeñca\** has not undergone the change of *-lä-* to *-äl-*, because of the closed syllable, that change has – for some reason – taken place in the **B** gerundive *akalšälle*, but there are also occurrences of *aklaṣṣälle*. The conflicting evidence of these forms, therefore, may not allow any conclusions as to the original syllable structure. However, I am of the opinion that the optative prose form **B aklyiyenträ** shows that the structure *\*āklä-* was original and not *\*ākäl(ä)-*, in which case one might have expected *\*akalyyenträ*. As *-l-* is not an expected verbal suffix in Tocharian or in Indo-European, it seems necessary to interpret **BA ākl-** as a prefixed formation with the sequence *\*-kl-* constituting the radical element. Van Windekens' association of this element with the verb **BA käl-** 'to lead, bring' (cf. Germ. *einführen*) is impossible, however, as the latter verb has a *set*-root structure, and, besides, that association would imply that the athematic stem of *ākl-* was *\*ākäl(ä)-* instead of the required *\*āklä-*. An association with **BA käl-** 'to stand' (cf. Germ. *verstehen*) is also impossible, as this verb reflects IE *\*kli-* and there is no palatalization in the basic forms of *ākl-*. As far as I can see, there is only one possibility left then, that is, an association with the IE verb *\*kleu-*, *\*klu-* 'to hear, listen'. The (inferable) subj. I stem CT *\*āklä-* would then reflect IE *\*ō-klu-* 'to listen to, learn', while the pres. VIII and IX would reflect as if IE *\*ō-klu-s<sup>eb</sup>-* and *\*ō-klu-sk<sup>eb</sup>-* respectively. Alternatively, the initial *\*ā-* was originally a free-standing *\*ā* from IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>ed* 'unto, towards'. These forms would then have been based on the IE aorist stem *\*kleu-*, *\*klu-*, cf. Ved. *śruvam* 'I heard', etc. See also **B akalye** 'doctrine' (**A āklye**), **B klyaus-** 'to hear' (**A klyos-**), **B klyomo** 'noble' (**A klyom**), **B -kälwe** 'fame' (**A -klyu**), **B klautso** 'ear' (**A klots**), **B klāw-** 'to be called' (**A klāw-**), **B klāwi** 'renown'. For the prefix, see **B -ā\*** (perlative marker) (**A -ā**), **B akaritte** 'near', **B āstse** 'compact, thick' (**A āstāts**).

B *aknātsa* (adj.), A *āknats* (adj.) 'ignorant, unknowing' are agent nouns of adj. class II,3 (B pl. *aknātsaṇ*, A fem. pl. *āknatsāñ*), also used as substantives in the sense 'fool, ignoramus'. To these adj. are formed the neuter abstracts B *aknātsaṇñe* 'ignorance, delusion' (class III,1), with the endocentric adj. *aknātsaṇñesse* 'pertaining to ignorance', and A *ākntsune* 'ignorance' (class III,2), with a simplified variant *āktsune*. B *aknātsa* and A *āknats* are usually equated with Gk. *ἄγνοτος* and Skt. *ājñāta-* (cf. e.g. Van Windekens 1976: 159). That equation is not quite as self-evident as it might appear. For one thing, the Greek and Indic forms have the meaning 'unknown', while the Tocharian ones mean 'ignorant'. A comparison with Gk. *ἄγνος* (gen.sg. *ἄγνώτος*) 'ignorant; unknown' might be more appropriate for that reason. Second, the Tocharian forms reflect a final *\*-tsā* as if from IE *\*-t-iH₂* (turned into an *n*-stem in Tocharian [as if *\*-t-iH₂-n* or the like]) and are, therefore, not identical in formation with the Greek and Indic forms. Third, it seems rewarding to take *\*-tsā* as a Tocharian suffix forming agent nouns to the subjunctive stem of Tocharian verbs. That is, B *aknātsa*, A *āknats*, would imply, and derive from, a subj. I (or V) stem *\*knā-*, in the same manner as B *wapāttsa* 'weaver' derives from the subj. V stem *\*wāpā-* 'to weave'. Such a subjunctive stem would, as expected, fit in a paradigm with the nasal present A *knānā-* 'to know', *q.v.* This subj. stem would reflect an IE zero grade *\*ǵnH₃-*, regularly yielding CT *\*knā-* in pre-consonantal position; a normal grade *\*ǵneH₃-* is presumably possible also. See also A *kñas-* 'to recognize', A *kām̐ts-* 'to admit, recognize', A *knā-* 'to know', A *kñā-* 'to acknowledge, recognize(?)', B *nān-* 'to appear, be shown', B *nāne* 'pretense'.

B *akratsa* '?' is a *hapax* of H add. 149. 63 b2 *aikemane tākam weṣṣān=akratsa se III*. Its meaning is unclear, and the reading and word division may be incorrect.

B *akraupatte* (adj., *hapax*) 'uncollected, distracted' is a privative formation to B *\*krāupā-*, the subj. V stem to the verb B *kraup-* 'to collect', *q.v.*, reflecting CT *\*æn-krāupāt̥tæ*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 22.

B *akrūna* (pl., gender unknown), A *ākār* (sg.; pl. f.) 'tear' is presumably a neuter in both languages. B *akruna* (once), *akrūna* (once), has the plural ending *\*-unā* of class II,1; note also the endocentric adj. B (a) *krūnaṣṣe* (once), (a) *krūnaṣṣe* (*sic*, once) 'pertaining to tears'. A *ākār* forms the plural *ākrun̐t* of class III,1,

and a derived adj. with suffixal *-nu* is found in A *ākārnu\** 'tearful' (for the suffix, cf. A *pārkar̐nu\** 'long' to *pārkar* 'long', *kārāṣnu\** 'woody' to *kārāṣ* 'wood'). As originally seen by Schulze (1927), these Tocharian words are the equivalents of Skt. *āśru* n. 'tear', Av. *asrū* 'id.', cf. also Lith. *ašarà* 'id.', and, furthermore, Gk. *δάκρυ* 'id.', etc. The CT preform was in the singular *\*ākra* from IE *\*akru* that resulted in A *ākār* and this was presumably the (unattested) West Tocharian form as well. The *-ū-* of B pl. *akrūna* is often taken as somehow reflecting the *\*-u-* of the underlying IE form, cf. Van Windekens (1976: 158) who posits a preserved *\*-u-*, and Adams (1988: 19) who assumes that *akrūna* reflects IE *\*(d)akruH₂+nā*. However, a short IE *\*-u-* yields CT *\*-ā-*, and a long one, i.e. *\*-uH₂-*, yields *\*-wā-*. The form B *akrūna* therefore – for phonological reasons – cannot contain an overt reflex of the suffixal *\*-u-*. Moreover, the morphological explanation of the suffix B *\*-unā* (*\*-ūnā* is a mere orthographic variant) in this word is surely identical with that of *\*-unā* in other West Tocharian words, viz. B *lamsūna* to *lāms* 'service', *ṣotrūna* to *ṣotri* 'sign, mark'. These plurals are in a category with the plurals in B *\*-aunā*, e.g. *rekauna* to *reki* 'word', *ypauna* to *yapoy* 'land', etc., ultimately reflecting plurals of stems in *\*-men-* and *\*-yen-*. That is to say, the form B *akrūna* has a plural in *\*-unā* that has replaced the original plural in B *\*-wā*. The East Tocharian plural *ākrun̐t* may reflect an older formation. Here *-unt* can be analyzed as having the element *-nt* (< *\*-ntā*) added to the plural *\*ākru* < *\*ākāru* < *\*ākār-wā*.

B *lāks-* 'to announce, proclaim, notify' (pres. XI [1sg.] *aksaskau*, [3sg.] *aksasṣām*, [ptc.] *aksasṣeñca\**, [ptc. med.] *aksaskemane\**, [ger. I] *aksasṣälye*, [impf. 3sg.] *aksasṣi*, subj. II [1sg.] *ākseṇ* (MQ), *aksau-ne*, [3sg.] *ākṣām*, [opt. 1sg.] *ākṣim*, [inf.] *ākṣtsi*, [abstr.] *ākṣalñe*, [imp. VI 2sg.] *pokse*, [imp. 2pl.] *pokses*, pret. Iba [1sg.] *ākṣāwa*, [ptc.] *ākṣu\**, A *lāks-* 'id.' (pres. XI [1sg.] *āksisam*, [3sg.] *āksis*, [ptc.] *āksisānt\**, [ptc. med.] *āksismām*, *āksisamām*, [ger. I] *āksisāl*, [inf.] *āksissi*, subj. XII [1sg.] *ākṣiññām*, [opt. 1sg.] *ākṣiññim*, [ger. II] *ākṣiññāl*, [abstr.] *ākṣiññlune*, [imp. V 2sg.] *pākṣiñ*, *pākṣiññā-ñi*, pret. V [3pl.] *ākṣiññār*, [ptc.] *ākṣiññu*). The variant B *ākṣalñe* of 199 M a4 beside the correct *ākṣalñe* is merely an aberrant form in a carelessly written manuscript. In East Tocharian there are several instances of variation of the type (subj.) *ākṣñam* beside *ākṣiññām*, and (pret.) *ākṣiñār* beside *ākṣiññār*. A *āksisamām*, which Sieg & Siegling (1921: 106 n.4) explain as a metrically conditioned variant of *āksismām*, is by

Winter (1991: 55) seen as the result of a morphophonological rearrangement in the wake of a certain phonological development. The *o*-vocalism of the imperative B *pokse*, etc., must be due to the labializing effect of the *p*- upon *-ā*-; however, this cannot be regarded as a regular sound change. The subj. II formation, overtly seen in West Tocharian, is covertly found in East Tocharian also, for the subj. XII stem *ākṣiññā-* is formed to the subj. II *\*ākṣā-* through the addition of the element *\*-ññā-*, before which anaptyxis arose yielding *\*-iññā-*, i.e. *\*ākṣā-iññā-* > *ākṣiññā-* as shown by Winter (1977, esp. p. 151sq.), cf. also Hilmarsson 1991b, esp. pp. 94-95. The marker *\*-iññā-* has thereupon been extended secondarily to the preterite and the past participle of this verb, cf. the same procedure in a few other non-denominative East Tocharian verbs, cf. discussion in Hilmarsson (l.c.). Furthermore, the *-i-* (< *\*-ā-i-*) of the A subj. stem has been secondarily introduced into the present stem formation, so that we have *āksis-* for expected *āksās-* (cf. also *oksis-* on the analogy of the subj. XII stem *okṣiññāla-* to *ok-* 'to grow'). Meillet *apud* Lévi in Hoernle 1916: 377 proposed to associate BA *āks-* with Lat. *aiō* 'I say', Gk. *hē* 'he said'. While the Greek form reflects an *e*-grade of the root, the Latin and Tocharian forms presumably continue a zero grade. As an IE *\*H<sub>1</sub>ǵ-* would not yield Lat. *\*ag-* and Toch. *\*āk-*, it seems necessary to posit the root form *\*H<sub>1</sub>eH<sub>1</sub>ǵ-* with zero grade *\*H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>ǵ-*, a cluster which was broken up by anaptyxis, viz. *\*H<sub>1</sub>ǵH<sub>1</sub>ǵ-*. This gave rise to Lat. *\*ag-*, and the extended verbal stem *\*H<sub>1</sub>ǵH<sub>1</sub>ǵ-s-* gave rise to Lat. *axāmenta* 'carmina Saliaria' and CT *\*āks-*. An anaptyctic *\*-ǵ-* results in Toch. *\*-ā-* normally (cf. BA *kāt-* 'to scatter'), but followed by a laryngeal it was lengthened to a full-fledged *\*-a-* yielding CT *\*-ā-* (cf. BA *krās-* 'to vex', B *krāt-* 'to challenge(?)'). For a recent discussion of Lat. *aiō* and its IE basis, see Schrijver 1991: 26sq. See also B *aksasṣuki* 'instructor', B *ākṣi\** 'announcer'.

- B *²āks-* 'to waken' intrans. (pres. IX [ptc. gen.sg.] *āksaṣe(ñcatse)* (sic), subj. V [3sg.] *āk[s]am*, [opt. 1sg.] *āksoym*, [abstr.] *āksalñe*, pret. Ibṣ [3sg.] *ākṣa*, [ptc.] *āksau*). The pres. ptc. *āksaṣ(ṣ)enñca\** is attested in H 149. 329 a1 in a very fragmentary context. However, the spelling *ma* for *mā* in line b4 of that text could indicate a western dialect provenience; therefore this ptc. could stand for standard *\*aksas(ṣ)enñca\** from *\*aksāṣṣenñcā*, but it could also stand for standard *\*aksāṣṣenñca* from *\*aksāṣṣenñcā*. This latter alternative is probably preferable, because it offers the opportunity to view the present IX stem *\*aksāṣṣāle-* (with adjusted non-causative

accentuation) as secondarily formed to the subj. V stem *\*āksā-*. Etymologically, this verb has not been plausibly explained. Van Windekens (1976: 159) suggests a relationship with Gk. *ἀκούω* 'I listen', etc., but one wouldn't then have expected syncope of the internal *\*-ā-* < *\*-u-*; besides, the semantics is far from compelling. Krause & Thomas (1960: 215) suggest an association with Lat. *acer* 'sharp', *acus* 'chaff', but they do not elaborate on that idea. It might be more practical to think of a connection with IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>eǵ-* 'to lead, set in motion' (cf. for the semantics Lat. *vegeō* (tr.) 'I arouse', intr. 'I am glad', Goth. *gawaknan* 'to awaken', Olcel. *vakna* 'id.', *vekja* 'to arouse', etc.). An extended IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>eǵ-s-* would, of course, yield CT *\*āks-*, and the suffixal *-ā-* of *\*āks-ā-* is not problematical, for this *set*-root characteristic has in Tocharian spread to many original *anīṭ*-roots. Matters are not quite that simple, however, because the subj. V stem *\*āksā-*, on which the paradigm is based, has initial accentuation. This implies that *\*āksā-* reflects a perfect stem (rather than simply any reduplicated stem) and derives from (as if) IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>e-H<sub>2</sub>oǵ-s-* that through *\*ā-éks-ā-* was contracted to CT *\*āks-ā-* > B *āksā-*.

- B *aksasṣuki* 'instructor' is a *nomen agentis* of adj. class II,1, formed to the pres. IX stem of the verb B *¹āks-* 'to announce, proclaim', q.v. See also B *ākṣi\** 'proclaimer'.
- B *ākṣi\** 'announcer, proclaimer' is a *nomen agentis* of adj. class II,1 formed to the subj. II stem *ākṣā-* of the verb B *¹āks-* 'to proclaim'. It has only one certain attestation (19 MQ a2 *pelaikn=ākṣim* [obl.sg.] 'proclaimer of the Law'), but might possibly be found also in 623 X a3 *sākṣiñ* (if *s=ākṣiñ*). The nom.sg. may have been accented on the initial syllable (through accent retraction), but as far as I can see, parallel formations do not show this conclusively. The origins of the agentive suffix B *-i*, matched by A *-e* (cf. A *pāṣe* 'guarding'), are still unclear. See also B *¹āks-* 'to announce, proclaim' (A *āks-*), B *aksasṣuki* 'instructor'.
- B *akwam-* 'sprout' is only found in the compound *akwam-pere* 'bud-bearing', see discussion under B *akwatse* 'sharp'.
- B *akwane\** '?' is a *hapax* of 490 MQ III 2 *akwanem kārṣyānte 30 kṣānemtṣa 550* 'we bought 30 a. for 550 kṣāna's'. Unfortunately, the meaning of this word is quite unclear and no etymological explanation can be confidently proposed. However, it seems likely that it is cognate with the *\*ākwān-* of B *akwam-* 'something pointed; sprout' and B *akwatse* 'sharp'. Note that line 5 of the

same text translates: 'they whetted knives for 250 *kṛśāna*'s'; one might then perhaps venture the thought that *akwane*\* has the meaning 'sharpener', *vel sim.* See also B *āke* 'end, point' (A *āk*), B *ākāñc* 'remote, distant' (A *ākiñc*), B *²āk* 'ear of grain(?)', B *akwam-* 'sprout', B *akwatse* 'sharp'.

- B *akwatse* (adj.) 'sharp' is found twice and the derivative abstract B *akwatsāññe* 'sharpness' is also found twice. Three of the occurrences are in MQ texts, while the fourth is in a Paris text, whose provenience is unknown to me. It is therefore uncertain whether the first two syllables represent underlying *\*ākwā-* or *\*ākwā-*. It is likely that *akwatse* is cognate with and, indeed, as argued below, derived from B *akwam-* in *akwam-pere* 'sprout, shoot, (lit.) bud-bearing(?)'. The compound presents the same problem: out of four attested instances, two are certainly in MQ texts, one probably, and one is uncertain; therefore one may have here either *\*ākwām-* or *\*ākwām-*. However, the western dialect characteristics of MQ texts are usually not particularly consistent. The constant spelling *akwa-*, *akwam-*, would therefore, it seems, favour positing an underlying *\*ākwā-*, *\*ākwām-*. The latter occurs only in *akwam-pere*, discussed by Pinault (1988a: 143sq.) who considers this word a *dvandva*-compound and suggests the translation "pousse [et] tige". He cogently associates *akwam-* with IE *\*H₂ek-* 'sharp', but his derivation of *-pere* from IE *\*per-* 'to traverse, bore through', though certainly possible, seems semantically less likely than a connection with IE *\*bher-* 'to bear'. B *akwam-pere*, in my opinion, might be translated with 'bud-bearing, sprout-bearing' with *-pere* a verbal abstract to B *pār-* 'to carry', reflecting IE *\*bhorō-s* [see further discussion under B *-pere*]. It seems reasonable, however, that *akwam-* means 'sprout, bud, shoot' and should be associated with B *akwatse* 'sharp'. The relationship of these two words has not been correctly defined. Pinault suggests that *\*ākwā-* reflects the stem form *\*ākw-* plus an anaptyctic *-ā-* (plus the suffix *\*-tsæ* [from *\*-tyo-*]); this is possible, but one might rather have expected *\*ākw-ts(ts)æ* to have resulted in *\*āku-ts(ts)æ*. Contrarily, Van Windekens (1976: 142) is definitely wrong in positing IE *\*āku-* (i.e. *\*H₂ekū-*) plus *\*-tjo-* and direct development to *\*ākwāts(ts)æ*, because the *\*-u-* should have yielded *\*-ā-* and not *\*-wā-*. Furthermore, Pinault derives *akwam-* from *\*ākwā-m(ān)*, again with anaptyxis. However, the *-m-* of the suffix *\*-m(ān)* is in West Tocharian preserved only after *-r-* (cf. B *šarm* 'cause', *yarm* 'size', etc.); otherwise, it is reflected by *-u* (cf. B *šanmau* 'fetter', etc.) or *-i* (cf. B *nāki*

'blame', etc.), cf. discussion in Hilmarsson 1991c: 152sq. Instead, one might suggest that the underlying form was *\*ākwān-* with assimilation to *\*ākwām-* before the labial of *-pere*. This *\*ākwān-* 'something pointed, stinging; sprout' could also underlie the adj. *akwatse* 'having stings, sharp'; a nasal is frequently lost before *-ts-*. CT *\*ākwān-* could be defined as reflecting the weak stem of an originally heteroclitic *\*H₂ek-ur* (or rather *\*H₂ek-ur* ?), *\*H₂ekur*, and would thus supply a welcome morphological counterpart of Hitt. *hekur* 'summit' < IE *\*H₂ek-ur*, even supporting the acrostatic inflection of that IE lexeme. See also B *āke* 'end, point' (A *āk*), B *ākāñc* 'remote, distant' (A *ākiñc*), B *²āk* 'ear of grain(?)', B *akwam-* 'sprout', B *akwane* '?'.

- B *āl-* 'to restrain, keep back, fend off' (pres. IX [3sg. med.] (a)l(astrā) (KVāc 17 a3), [ptc.] *ālāṣṣeñca* (MQR), [ger.] *ālāṣṣälle*, subj. I [inf.] *āltsi*, [opt. 3pl. med.] *ālyintrā* (MQ), pret. Ib [ptc.] *ālu*), A *āl-* 'id.' (pres. VIII [2sg. med.] *ālāštār*, [ptc. med.] *ālāsmām*, [impf. 2sg.] *ālšāt-ām*, subj. VII [ger.] *ālñāl*, pret. III [3sg. med.] *ālšāt-ām*, [ptc.] *ālu* (? see s.v.), [absol.] *ālurāṣ*). The East Tocharian subj. VII formation has replaced an earlier subj. I, matching the West Tocharian one, cf. the discussion of such a replacement in Hilmarsson 1991b. [[Unfinished]].
- B *ālālätte* (adj.) 'untiring, indefatigable' is a privative formation to B *\*lālā-*, the inferable subj. I stem underlying the attested subj. IV stem *lālyi-* to the verb B *lāl-* 'to be tired', [q.v.,] reflecting CT *\*æn-lālāttae*. The vocative (204 Ot. a1) *ālālycu* presumably has a secondarily palatalized *-ly-* through contact with the palatal *-c-*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 86-88.
- B *ālām* (adv.) 'otherwise, differently' is relatively well attested. It is often extended with the ablative marker *-mem*, producing the adv. *alanmem* 'from elsewhere, from wherever, (Skt.) anyatah' with the accent regularly preceding that marker. While obviously related to the pron.-adj. B *allek*, A *ālak* 'another, other', the precise formation of B *ālām* is not clear. One alternative is to take *ālām* as reflecting an old instrumental or an ablative, i.e. IE *\*H₂elnō(d)*. This form would result in CT *\*ālhu* > *\*ālñä*, and if the change of *Rā* to *ār* was earlier than the assimilation of *-ln-* to *-ll-*, this would yield CT *\*ālām* > B *ālām* (with late final *-ām* preserved unlike original final *\*-ām*). See also B *allek* 'other, another' (A *ālak*), B *alyiyatstse*\* 'strange, alien', B *aletstse*\* 'foreign, strange', B *ālyauce* 'each other' (A *ālam wāc*), A *ālaši* 'placed apart, standing aloof from, foreign', B *alokālymi* 'directed



toward a single goal', B *ālo* 'differently(?)', A *ālu* 'of others' [A *ynālek* 'elsewhere']].

A *ālaši* (adv. or adj. ?) 'foreign, standing apart' is attested twice: 325 a3 *ālaši lotka-m* and 62 a4 *wtā(k) šhi klop tāka-m ālaši* 'again [his] own pain was for him foreign'. Couvreur (1955-56: 70) translates "etwa 'gleich-gültig'", which may be correct in a sense. This word is probably related to B *allek*, A *ālak* 'other, another', but the precise formation is not clear. Although A *-ś-* is sometimes written for *-ṃś-*, *-ñc-*, so that one might see here a formation of the type A *k<sub>u</sub>leñci* 'female', *atroñci* 'heroic', the actual occurrence of a simple *-ś-* in both instances of this word makes it advisable to assume that *-ś-* here is original. Van Windekens' derivation (1979: 138) of *ālaši* directly from A *ālak* is definitely incorrect. The *-k* of *ālak* is enclitic, reflecting CT *\*-kā*, and would not have suffered palatalization in Tocharian, cf. the recently formed obl.sg. fem. A *ālyäkyām* with a reiterating final added to the enclitic. Rather, one might follow Isebaert (1980: 188-189), who points out the possibility of deriving the suffix A *-ši* from CT *\*-šciy-*, although he does not definitely endorse such a formation in this case. That is to say, one might derive A *ālaši* from CT *\*ālnā-šciyae!\** *ālylyae-šciyae* from (as if) IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>el-n/jo-stH<sub>2</sub>-iHo-*. See also B *allek* 'other, another' (A *ālak*), B *alyiyatstse\** 'strange, alien', B *aletstse\** 'foreign, strange', B *ālyauce* 'each other' (A *ālam wāc*), B *ālām* 'otherwise, differently', B *alokālymi* 'directed toward a single goal', B *ālo* 'differently(?)', A *ālu* 'of others' [A *ynālek* 'elsewhere']].

B *aletstse\** (adj.) 'foreign, strange' is an exocentric adj. formed to the unextended stem of B *allek* 'other, another'. Once found in the variant *alletstse\**, once erroneously written (fem. obl.sg.) *alaitsai* in an MQ text. The *-l-* of *aletstse\** as against the *-ll-* of *allek* could be seen in the following light. B *allek* vs. the obl. *alyek* complies with the pattern of adjectives (gerundives) in *-lle*. These gerundives always have presuffixal accent that can be seen as the conditioning factor of the geminate. B *aletstse\** has been extended with the suffix *-tsts-* (which is geminated because of preceding accent), and *alé-* reflects earlier *\*āllé-* that has been degeminated in preaccentual position. A derived abstract is B *alletsñe* 'foreignness', a hapax of 327 S a4. See also B *allek* 'other, another' (A *ālak*), B *alyiyatstse\** 'strange, alien', B *ālyauce* 'each other' (A *ālam wāc*), A *ālaši* 'placed apart, standing aloof from, foreign', B *ālām* 'otherwise, differently', B *alokālymi* 'directed toward a

single goal', B *ālo* 'differently(?)', A *ālu* 'of others' [A *ynālek* 'elsewhere']].

B *allek* (pron.-adj.), A *ālak* (pron.-adj.) 'other, another' shows a wide variety of forms, most of which, however, are easily reconcilable. The *-k* is the enclitic particle *-k* (q.v.) added to an inflected thematic stem, but sometimes (always in the case of secondary case markers) flexional elements are secondarily added to the enclitic. The accentuation takes account of the enclitic, and therefore we find B *allek* from underlying *\*āllékā*, instead of *\*āllek* as would be expected of a disyllabic form. The flexion is as follows: masc. nom.sg. B *allek* (once *allekā*, rarely *alek*, *alekk*), A *ālak*, obl.sg. B *alyek* (rarely *allyek*, *alyeko* [with mobile *-o*], once *alyen̄k* [346 M a4] with nasal from the obl.pl.), A *ālyakām*, *ālakām* (equally frequent; flexional element added to the enclitic), nom.pl. B *alyaik* (once *alyaiko* with mobile *-o*; rarely *allaik*, once *alyain̄k* with nasal from the obl.pl.), A *ālyek*, obl.pl. B *alyen̄kām* (here a flexional element is added to the enclitic, which in turn is preceded by the original obl.pl. ending B *-em*), A *ālykes*, *ālyekās* (the former is exclusively used as a free-standing oblique [once extended with yet another enclitic *ālykesāk*], while the latter is mostly found as the basis to which the secondary cases are formed; *ālyekās* seems to be based on the nom.pl. *ālyek* with flexional element added to the enclitic, while *ālykes* could reflect the stem form *\*ālya-k-* with the flexional element *-es* [with *-e-* analogical to the nom.pl.] added to the enclitic); fem. nom.sg. B *alyāk*, A *ālyāk*, obl.sg. B *allok* (once *(a)lyok* [244 MQ a1], once *alyen̄ka* [Lévi A 1 b1] but the reading of this form would have to be verified; the nasal is clearly analogical to the obl.pl., but one would rather have expected *\*ālyon̄kā*), A *ālyäkyām* (with reduction in the internal syllable and flexional element added to the enclitic), nom./obl.pl. B *allon̄kna* (variants: *allon̄na*, *alon̄kna*, *alloykna* [200 M a1], the last possibly with an eastern dialect feature; possibly *allon̄k* [379 MQ b2] and *allon̄n̄k* [173 M a5] are obl.sg. forms), A *ālkont* (extended *ālkontāk*) has a syncopated internal syllable. For the gen.pl. A *ālu*, see s.v. - The interchange of B *-ll-* (secondarily simplified to *-l-*) and *-ly-*, A *-l-* (regularly simplified from *-ll-*) and *-ly-* follows in principle the pattern of the suffixed adjectives, e.g. the gerundives in B *-lle*, A *-l* (Winter 1962c: 1068). The pattern is identical in the masculine, while in the feminine it differs only in the obl.sg., where the gerundives have a palatal but our pron.-adj. has B *allok* as the canonic form. One might propose that B *allok* has been depalatalized on the



analogy of the feminine plural where we have *allo-* with a pattern-conforming *-ll-*. Since this pattern is morphologically conditioned and analogy could have taken place in either direction, one cannot know for certain which is original, the palatal or the non-palatal. In the case of B *allek*, A *alak*, there are, indeed, two etymological possibilities. One may either posit an IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>el-jo-* (*\*al-jo-*) as in Lat. *alius*, etc., or an IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>el-no-* (*\*al-no-*) as in Gmc. *\*alla-* (< *\*alna-*). From IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>el-jo-* one would get CT *\*ālylyæ* (the palatal geminate *-lyly-* is regularly realized as *-ly-* in both Tocharian languages) that would be analogically depalatalized in the appropriate forms, while in the case of IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>el-no-* one would get CT *\*ālnæ* > *\*āllæ* that would be analogically palatalized in the appropriate forms. Simplification of all inherited geminates is the rule in East Tocharian, wherefore A *alak* as against B *allek*. In the feminine singular one may have to assume the presence of a reflex of the feminine marker *\*-iH<sub>2</sub>*. Thus B *alyāk*, A *ālyāk* could reflect either (as if) IE *\*alniH<sub>2</sub>* or *\*aljiH<sub>2</sub>*. The obl.sg. fem. B *allok* seems to reflect the final *\*-jeH<sub>2</sub>-m* plus enclitic. The fem. nom./obl.pl. B *alloñkna* appears to be based on an underlying form in *\*-jeH<sub>2</sub>* (like the obl.sg.) that could be interpreted as an old neuter plural; the *-ñ-* is problematic though: perhaps it represents the rest of a final *\*-nā* whose *\*-ā* was deleted before the enclitic, as the latter was itself extended with the plural marker *\*-nā*, i.e. B *alloñkna* for *\*allonakna*. The fem.pl. A *ālkont* is also enigmatic. The first syllable surely reflects *\*āla-k-* (matching B *allo-k-*) but *-ont* has an unexpected vocalism (for expected *\*-ant* ?). See also B *aletstse\** 'foreign, strange', B *alyiyatstse\** 'strange, alien', B *ālyauce* 'each other' (A *ālam wāc*), A *ālaši* 'placed apart, standing aloof from, foreign', B *ālām* 'otherwise, differently', B *alokālymi* 'directed toward a single goal', B *ālo* 'differently(?)', A *ālu* 'of others' [A *ynālek* 'elsewhere']].

- B *ālo* (adv. ?) 'otherwise(?)' is found only twice; both times in fragmentary and unclear contexts. Krause & Thomas (1960: 169 n.) remark: "Unsicher ist B *ālo* 'anders' (?)". Presumably related to B *allek*, A *alak* 'other, another', but as long as the meaning is unclear, it is useless to embark on a morphological explanation of the form. See also B *allek* 'other, another' (A *alak*), B *alyiyatstse\** 'strange, alien', B *aletstse\** 'foreign, strange', B *ālyauce* 'each other' (A *ālam wāc*), A *ālaši* 'placed apart, standing aloof from, foreign', B *ālām* 'otherwise, differently', B *alokālymi* 'directed toward a single goal', A *ālu* 'of others' [A *ynālek* 'elsewhere']].

B *alokālymi* (adv.) 'bent on a single goal, (Skt.) *ekānta*' (once *alokālymi* [125 MQR a1]) is a petrified obl.sg. of a compound, whose first member, *\*ālō-*, in all probability, is related to B *allek*, A *alak* 'other, another'. It is conceivable that *\*ālo-* here represents an IE thematic *\*H<sub>2</sub>el-o-* as found in Gmc. *\*ala-* 'all, complete', with B *\*ālo-* formally reflecting a neuter collective *\*H<sub>2</sub>el-eH<sub>2</sub>* > CT *\*ālā* > B *\*ālo-* (> *ālō-kālymi*). One might then translate *alokālymi* with 'completely directed' (obl.sg. *kālymi* to B *kālymiye* 'direction', q.v.). See also B *allek* 'other, another' (A *alak*), B *alyiyatstse\** 'strange, alien', B *aletstse\** 'foreign, strange', B *ālyauce* 'each other' (A *ālam wāc*), A *ālaši* 'placed apart, standing aloof from, foreign', B *ālām* 'otherwise, differently', B *ālo* 'differently(?)', A *ālu* 'of others' [A *ynālek* 'elsewhere']].

A *ālu* functions as the gen.pl. to A *alak* 'another, other'. All forms of the paradigm of *alak* are extended with the enclitic particle *-k(ā)*. It seems very unlikely that *ālu* is an archaism, preserving an unextended stem-form. Indeed, it is difficult to see what preform A *ālu* would continue, if that were the case. Klingenschmitt (1975b: 152 n.6) has tentatively suggested that *ālu* represents an IE gen.pl. *\*aljōm*, but that form would probably have yielded CT *\*ālylyo* and finally A *\*āl* (B *\*āl(y)o*). Pedersen (1941: 118) suggests an IE adj. *\*alwo-s* to the same root as A *alak*, but points out that such a formation is not found outside Tocharian. He thereupon abandons that position in favour of a derivation with the suffix *\*-went-* (1941: 263). Again, the phonological details are not clear. In lack of a better solution, one might embrace Van Windekens' suggestion (1979: 270) that A *ālu* is simply the past participle of the verb A *āl-* (B *āl-*) 'to restrain, keep back'; i.e. A *ālu* 'kept apart, kept away' → 'strange, foreign; other' (A *ālu* frequently contrasts with A *šñi* '(one's) own'). The use of an adjective to express a genitival relationship is not remarkable. See also B *āl-* 'to keep away', A *āl-*.

B *ālyauce* (pron.), A *ālam wāc* (pron.) 'each other, one another' is a petrified obl.sg. masc. form used for both genders, all numbers and cases. Secondary case forms are added when necessary. In West Tocharian, *ālyoce* occurs in eastern dialect forms, and *ālyewce*, *ālyēce* in western dialect forms. Because of the first-syllable accent, B *ālyauce* cannot be taken as a compound (in which case one would have expected B *\*alyauce*); rather, it must be interpreted as a free-standing *\*ālyeu* followed by *wāce* that at a late stage (i.e. after the West Tocharian accent regulations) became enclitic. Formally, B *ālyauce* and A *ālam wāc* are perfect

equivalents. The second element, B *-uce* < \**wāce* and A *wāc*, reflects CT \**wāce* 'other, second' from IE \**duito-*. The first element, B *ālyau-* < *ālyeu-* and A *ālam*, reflects the pronominal stem of B *allek*, A *ālak* 'other, another' minus the enclitic \*-*kā*, i.e. CT (obl.sg. masc.) \**ālylax*, except that this latter stem has been extended with an enclitic element as also seen in the demonstrative pronoun B *su*, A *sām*, obl.sg. masc. B *ce<sub>u</sub>*, *cau*, A *cam* (cf. Pedersen 1941: 119). This element (B *-u*, A *-m*) reflects CT \*-*m* of whatever origin (possibly to be connected with the *mā-* of B *māksu* 'who, which', [q.v.,] cf. discussion in Hilmarsson 1987: 42). For the derivation of B *-u* from earlier B \*-*m*, cf. Winter 1990: 16sq. See also B *allek* 'other, another' (A *ālak*), B *aliyatstse\** 'strange, alien', B *aletstse\** 'foreign, strange', A *ālaši* 'placed apart, standing aloof from, foreign', B *ālām* 'otherwise, differently', B *alokālymi* 'directed toward a single goal', B *ālo* 'differently(?)', A *ālu* 'of others' [A *ynālek* 'elsewhere']].

B *aliyatstse\** (adj.) 'strange, alien' is an exocentric adj., a *hapax* of 127 MQR b4 *aliyatse nesālñe* '(Germ.) Fremdsein'. This word is presumably formed to the feminine nom.sg. \**ālyā* (final in IE \*-*iH<sub>2</sub>*), the basis of the extended *alyāk* 'another'. Another possibility would be to assume an underlying substantive \**ālyiyā* 'otherness, strangeness' of class VI,3 formed to the pron.-adj. stem \**ālye-*, fem. \**ālyā*. See also B *allek* 'other, another' (A *ālak*), B *aletstse\** 'foreign, strange', B *ālyauce* 'each other' (A *ālam wāc*), A *ālaši* 'placed apart, standing aloof from, foreign', B *ālām* 'otherwise, differently', B *alokālymi* 'directed toward a single goal', B *ālo* 'differently(?)', A *ālu* 'of others' [A *ynālek* 'elsewhere']].

B *ām* (adv.) 'silently, tranquilly, (Skt.) tūṣṇīm' is attested three times (Lévi U 18 a1, H 149. 39 b3, H 149. X 5 b5 [Couvreur 1954a: 44]) and always in conjunction with the verb *šām-/lām-* 'to sit', i.e. 'to sit in silence, sit quietly'. Furthermore, there is one instance of the form *āmtsa* in 366 Š b4 (*kumu*)*tānta āmtsa wtsāne* (sic for *wsāne*) *šlek špā* 'and also she gave him the white lotuses in silence'. This form is probably to be seen as the nom.sg. fem. of an exocentric adj. in *-tsts-* to the adverb *ām* rather than as a perlativ form to an otherwise unattested noun. A derivative with the adjectival (originally diminutive) suffix *-ške* might be seen in B *amiške* 'despondent, dejected', q.v. A semantic parallel would be OÍcel. *dauf* 'deaf; quiet; despondent', *deyð* 'quietness; despondency, lethargy'. B *ām* is etymologically unclear, but Van Windekens (1976: 622) may be right in seeing it as a borrowing

from Iranian, viz. MÍr. \**hām* 'same, alone', cf. Khot. *nišam-/nāsām-* 'to be quiet, end' (Isebaert 1980: 47 *contra* Emmerick 1977: 403). See also B *amiške* 'despondent, dejected'.

B *amākspānta* (voc.sg.; gender unknown, but presumably m.) 'wagoneer' is a *hapax* of PK 12 K b3 (Couvreur 1954b: 86) *amākspānta karpām lantāññai ytārine* 'o wagoneer, we have descended on the royal road'. It would be optimal to see in *-pānta* here the vocative to B *-pānta* as found in the compound *kokalpānta* 'charioteer', q.v., a verbal noun in *-a* (< CT \*-*ā*) of adj. class II,3. However, such verbal nouns have the vocative ending *-ai*, not *-a*. The latter ending characterizes the vocative of nouns in nom.sg. *-e*. It would therefore seem necessary to posit a thematic nom.sg. *-pānte* beside *-pānta* of *kokalpānta*. The first member of the compound is less clear. Adams' (1984) identification of B *amākš-* with Gk. *ἄμαξα* 'chassis of a four-wheeled wagon' and derivation of both from an IE \**H<sub>2</sub>em-H<sub>2</sub>eks-i(e)H<sub>2</sub>* is, in my opinion, impossible, as this ought to have led to CT \**āmākš-* (> B *amākš-* or, in MQ texts, *amākš-*) and not \**āmākš-* (> B *amākš-*). It seems likelier that the Greek word (or a closely related Greek word) was borrowed into Iranian and found its way from there into Tocharian. To be sure, I cannot identify the exact source, and Bailey's (1958: 46) pointing out Saka *maš-* in *mašpā-* 'route, road' does not seem very helpful (*pace* Van Windekens 1976: 621). See also [B *-pānta* 'driver'], B *kokalpānta* 'charioteer'.

B *amāllatte* (adj., *hapax*) 'unoppressed' is a privative formation to B \**māllā-*, the subj. V stem to the verb B *māl-* 'to oppress, crush; reject', [q.v.,] reflecting (as if) CT \**æn-mālnāttæ*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 28sq.

B *amāntatte* (adj., *hapax*) 'not agitated, unscattered' is a privative formation to B \**māntā-*, the subj. V stem to the verb B *mānt-* 'to scatter, throw; hurt, injure', [q.v.,] reflecting CT \**æn-māntāttæ*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 29sq.

B *āmapi* '?' is a *hapax* of 325 M a1 *klyiye šamānentse asām nātkaṃ āmapi kontsaisa wat mant tsā III*. Sieg & Siegling (1953: 209 n.14) suggest this word is misspelt for *āntpi* 'both', but, as pointed out by Adams (1991: 26 n.27), the scribe would then have had to make an unreasonably great number of mistakes. Adams, therefore, prefers to set *āmapi* aside as a word of unknown meaning,

translating the line in question: "[if] a woman pushes the seat of a monk with either *āmapi* or *kontsai* ...".

- B *amāskai* (adv.) 'heavily, with difficulty' is of frequent occurrence. Once, the ablative marker *-mem* is added (100 Š a6 *amāskaimem*), which may indicate a secondary adjectival use of this adverb. An exocentric adj. B *amāskaitse*\* 'pertaining to difficulty' is formed to the adverb. B *amāskai* continues an original prepositional phrase, CT \**æn* + \**māskāi* 'in a difficult (manner)', with *māskai*\*, the obl.sg. to an underlying B \**māsko* or \**maskiye* (noun class VI,2), an otherwise unattested cognate of B *māskw* 'heaviness'. The prefixal vocalism has suffered *ā*-umlaut. An identical formation is not found in East Tocharian, for here B *amāskai* is matched by A *māski* (adj./adv.) 'difficult; with difficulty'. The use of a prefixed formation in West Tocharian as against a non-prefixed one in East Tocharian is found in other cases as well, cf. e.g. B *aškār* 'back' vs. A *škārā* 'id.'. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 119sq. [See also B *māskw* 'heaviness'.]
- B *amaukatte*\* (adj.) 'unceasing' is a privative formation to B \**māukā*-, the subj. V stem to the verb B *mauk*- 'to cease, leave off, let be', [q.v.], reflecting CT \**æn-mæukāttæ*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 31sq.
- B *amiške* (adj.) 'despondent, dejected' is an adj. of class II,3 (obl.pl. *amiškaṃ*, fem. nom.pl. *amiškana*). It forms a derived abstract B *amiškāññe* 'despondency, dejection'. B *amiške* is itself a derivative in the (originally diminutive) suffix *-ške* to B *ām* (adv.) 'silently, quietly'. For the formation cf. B *tāllānt*- 'miserable' → *tāllāññiske* 'unfortunate'; for the semantics cf. OIcel. *dauf* 'deaf; quiet; despondent', *deyfð* 'quietness; despondency, lethargy'. The relationship of B *amiške* and B *ām* invalidates Van Windekens' suggestion (1941: 80, 1976: 143) deriving *amiške* from an underlying \**ami*-, cf. Skt. *āmiti* 'presses, torments', *āmivā* 'pain, malady', etc., and anyway, these latter words are based on the *set*-root \**H<sub>3</sub>emH<sub>3</sub>*-, and one might then have expected CT \**āmā* as basis. Pedersen's association (1944: 36) with Lat. *amārus* 'bitter', Skt. *amlā*- 'sour' is semantically unlikely. See also B *ām* 'silently'.
- B *ammakki* (voc. f.) 'mama!' is attested only twice – both times in a vocative function, viz. 85 Š a2, PK NS 699 b4 (Couvreux 1964: 248) *šarya ammakki* 'dear mama'. While *appakka* 'papa!' is the regular vocative to the nom.sg. *appakke*, the vocative ending *-i* of *ammakki* is quite singular and therefore gives no indication of

what would be the expected nom.sg. form; see Krause & Thomas (1960: 103) for the formation of the vocative in Tocharian. B *ammakki* is clearly an affectionate "nursery" term, cognate with OIcel. *amma* 'grandmother', OHG *amma* 'mother', Gk. *ἡμῶς* 'mother', etc. While the geminate *-mm-* is probably to be seen as expressive (and original), the *-kk-* shows the suffixal gemination characteristic in post-accentual position in Tocharian; see B *appakke* for a note on the suffix. B *ammakki* appears to reflect CT \**āmmākki*. Unless one assumes a completely irregular development from a CT \**āmmākki*, it seems possible that a basic CT \**āmmiyā* (formed like Gk. *ἡμῖα* 'mother') was replaced by \**āmmi-kkV* > \**āmmākkV* (with *-kk-* from *appakke* 'papa'), which produced B *ammakki*.

- B *āmp*- 'to rot, fester' (pret. Ibß [ptc. pl. fem.] *āmpauwa*) is attested only in the cited past participle form (twice in Šorčūq texts), implying a (pret.) stem \**āmpā*-. Van Windekens' etymological explanation of this word (1976: 162) is unsatisfactory for phonological as well as word-formational reasons. Rather, with Adams (unpubl.) one may assume a borrowing from Mlr. \**hampu*- 'rot, fester', cf. Khot. *hambūta*- 'rotted, festering' (acc.sg. *hambūvu*, acc.pl. *hambva*). This is all the more likely as the derivative B *ampoñō* 'festering, infection' is formed with the Khotanese abstract-forming suffix *-oñā* (Adams, unpubl.) that has been adapted to the Tocharian class VI,3 pattern (obl. *ampoñai*, gen. *ampoñamtse*), where there is an interchange of final *-o* and *-a* (cf. B *prešciyo* ~ *prešcya* 'time').
- B *āmpār* (pl. f.) 'limb, member, flesh of the limbs' is presumably a neuter of class I,2 (pl. *amparwa*). The singular is found once in an unpublished Berlin text (Thomas 1985: 122), the plural twice in Amb. b1, b2. The etymology is not clear. Isebaert (1977[79]: 383-384) suggests derivation from IE \**ar-mr* (to IE \**H<sub>2</sub>er*- 'to fit') that in Tocharian became an *u*-stem \**āmrāru*; this form was dissimilated to \**āmrū* > \**āmru* that acquired an epenthetic *-p*- (\**-mr*- > *-mpr*- is not infrequent in Tocharian), becoming \**āmpru* > \**āmprā* > B *āmpār*. Isebaert's later association (1980: 235) with Lat. *aptus* through an infixed \**ēb-n-p*- is unattractive. An altogether different, and perhaps preferable, solution would be a derivation from the IE root \**H<sub>2</sub>em*- 'raw, raw flesh' as found in the lengthened grade \**H<sub>2</sub>ēmó*- in Skt. *āmā*- 'raw', *āmād*- 'eating raw flesh', Arm. *hum* 'raw', Gk. *ῥῶς* 'raw, uncooked', *ῥῶσής* 'eating raw flesh', cf. perhaps also Lat. *amārus* 'bitter' (if developed from 'raw, unripe') from \**H<sub>2</sub>em*- plus Lat. *-ārus*, etc.

One might then posit an IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>em-ur* (or *\*H<sub>2</sub>ōm-ur* ?) 'raw flesh, piece of flesh (*vel sim.*)' → 'flesh of the limbs' (cf. Lat. *membrum* for the meaning) that suffered metathesis to *\*H<sub>2</sub>em-ru* (or *\*H<sub>2</sub>ōm-ru*), cf. IE *\*k<sup>et</sup>-ur* > *\*k<sup>et</sup>-ru*. These forms would both appear as Proto-Toch. *\*āmru*, becoming *\*āmpru* through epenthesis. Further development would be to CT *\*āmprā* > B *āmpār*, while the CT plural *\*āmprwā* through *\*āmpār wā* would result in B *amparwa*. Possibly, the IE word for the shoulder, *\*H<sub>2</sub>emso-*, *\*H<sub>2</sub>omso-*, is a relation. For phonological reasons, hardly a borrowing of Khot. *hamara-* 'limb' (loc.pl. *hamirrvā*)? [See also B *āntse* 'shoulder' (A *es*).]

B *amplākütte* (adj.) 'unpermitted, without consent' is a privative formation to B *plākā-*, the subj. I stem to the verb B *plāk-* 'to be in accord, agree', [q.v.,] reflecting CT *\*æn-plākättæ*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 88sq.

B *ampoño* (gender unknown) 'festering, infection', see B *āmp-* 'to rot, fester'.

B *anaikte* (adj.) 'uncelebrated, uninformed' is a privative formation to B *\*āikā-*, the causative subj. I stem to the verb B *aik-* 'to know', q.v., reflecting CT *\*æn-āikättæ* through *ā*-umlaut. Actually attested is only *anaikte*, a syncopated verse form. The paradigmatic pattern of the verb B *aik-* requires seeing this privative as formed to a causative rather than to a non-causative subjunctive I stem *\*āikā-* (and therefore the translation given above is preferable to the gloss "unknown" of the handbooks), cf. the detailed discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 98-105. See also B *aik-* 'to know', B *aiśai* 'notice' (A *eśe*), B *anaiśai* 'exactly', B *aiśi\** 'knower', B *aiśi* (= *aiśai*), B *aiśaumye* 'wise, clever', B *anaikto\** 'non-information' [B *poyśi* 'All-knower']].

B *anaikto\** (gender unknown) 'uninformedness, non-information' is a (presumably feminine) noun of class VI.2. The obl.sg. *anaiktai* is attested once (386 S b4), and the abl.sg. *anaiktaimem* once (278 MQ a1). The form *anaiktai* must be a substantive rather than a feminine obl.sg. to the privative B *anaikte*, as it ends in *-tai*. Clearly, B *anaikto\** is an abstract derived from *anaikte*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 104sq. See also B *aik-* 'to know', B *aiśai* 'notice' (A *eśe*), B *anaiśai* 'exactly', B *aiśi\** 'knower', B *aiśi* (= *aiśai*), B *aiśaumye* 'wise, clever', B *anaikte* 'uninformed' [B *poyśi* 'All-knower']].

B *anaiśai* (adv.) 'exactly, diligently, attentively' is in origin a prepositional phrase CT *\*æn + \*aiśai* '(lit.) in knowledge'. The prefixal vocalism has suffered *ā*-umlaut. For the second member, see B *aiśai* 'notice, attention' (A *eśe*).

B *anaiwaññe\** (adj.) 'pertaining to unpleasantness(?)' is a hapax of 128 MQR b2 ... *mā twe wārpnātar se pelai(k)n(e) [e]naiwaññe* ..., assuming [e]naiwaññe is an error for *anaiwaññe*. The context is too fragmentary to enable an exact translation. Presumably, B *anaiwaññe\** is an adj. in *-ññe* to *\*ānāiwā*, cf. B *anaiwatstse*, A *ānewāts\** 'unpleasant'. See also B *aiw-* 'to be inclined towards' [A *yu-* 'to incline towards', B *yu-* 'to mature, ripen']].

B *anaiwatstse* (adj.), A *ānewāts\** (adj.) 'unpleasant, unloved, (Skt.) apriya' are negated exocentric adjectives from CT *\*æn-aiwātstse* to an underlying *\*aiwā* that in turn must be cognate with the verb B *aiw-* 'to be inclined towards, be in sympathy with'. As adjectives in *-tsis-* are always denominative, B *anaiwatstse* and A *ānewāts\** cannot be formed directly to the verbal root or stem. Derived abstracts are found in both languages: B *anaiwatsñe* (hapax), A *ānewātsune\** (hapax) 'unpleasantness'. The underlying *\*aiwā* can be interpreted as an original prepositional phrase *\*æn + \*y(ā)wā* 'in sympathy' (> *\*æywā* > *\*aiwā*), with *\*y(ā)wā* 'inclination, sympathy' being a derivative of the subj. V stem *\*yāwā-* to the verb *\*yu-* as represented by A *yu-* 'to incline towards' (and perhaps B *yu-* 'to mature, ripen' if that meaning has developed through 'reaching' from 'tending towards'). The verb B *aiw-* 'to be inclined towards' is denominatively formed to *\*aiwā* rather than *vice versa*. Detailed discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 125-128. [For IE connections (*\*ieu(H)-* 'to connect'), see A *yu-* 'to incline towards'.] See also B *aiw-* 'to be inclined towards' [A *yu-* 'to incline towards', B *yu-* 'to mature, ripen']].

B *anākütte* (adj.) 'irreproachable, blameless, (Skt.) aninditah' is a privative formation to B *\*nākā-*, the subj. I stem to the verb B *nāk-* 'to blame', [q.v.,] reflecting CT *\*æn-nākättæ*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 95sq.

B *ānāsk-* 'to inhale, breathe (in)' (pres. IX [3sg.] *anāṣṣām*, [ger. I] *anāṣṣalle*, [abstr.] *anāṣṣālñe*, subj. IX [inf.] *anāst(s)i* (Thomas 1972: 443), caus. pres. IX [1pl.] *ānāskem* (MQ), [1pl. med.] *ānāskemtrā* (MQ)). Although causative forms are attested only in MQ texts, their initial accent, as against the second syllable accent of the non-causatives, is certain. The reduction of the internal *-ā-*

to -ā- in the causative is regular – possibly in its origin related to the accentuation. Clearly, this verb is a derivative of the IE root *\*H<sub>2</sub>enH<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to breathe’ (originally Couvreur 1949: 33), cf. Skt. *āniti* ‘breathes’, etc. Van Windekens (1976: 144) takes *ānāsk-* as a formation in *\*-sḱ-* directly to the IE root, cf. also Hilmarsson (1986a: 198) who reconstructs IE *\*anH-sḱ-*, i.e. *\*H<sub>2</sub>enH<sub>1</sub>-sḱ<sup>eb</sup>-* with regular vocalization of the laryngeal in interconsonantal position. However, this analysis does not take account of the fact that B *ānāsk-* ‘inhale’ forms a pair with B *sātāsk-* ‘to exhale’ in a similar manner as we find in Lat. *inhālāre ~ exhālāre*. In Hilmarsson 1991a: 120, 129, I have therefore suggested that *ānāsk-* is a prefixed formation, deriving from an (as if) IE *\*H<sub>1</sub>ṇ-H<sub>2</sub>ṇH<sub>1</sub>-sḱ<sup>eb</sup>-* or *\*H<sub>1</sub>ṇ-H<sub>2</sub>enH<sub>1</sub>-sḱ<sup>eb</sup>-* ‘to in-hale’. In such a compound form, one might expect the root-final laryngeal to be lost. The prefix would be vocalized as CT *\*æn-* and the following root element would be vocalized as CT *\*-ān-*. The resulting CT *\*ænānsk-* would become *\*ānānsk-* through *ā*-umlaut and, finally, the root-final nasal would be lost before *-sk-* (cf. BA *māsk-* ‘to be’ < *\*mānsk-* < *\*mṇ-sḱ-*) yielding B *ānāsk-*. [For the parallel formation of B *sātāsk-* ‘to exhale’, see s.v.] See also B *āñiye* ‘breath’, B *āñm-* ‘to wish’, B *āñme* ‘self; wish’ (A *āñcām*), B *āñmālaške* ‘compassionate’, B *āñmalāšlñe* ‘compassion’ [B *onolme* ‘being’].

B *anautatte\** (adj., *hapax*) ‘not waning, not disappearing’ is a privative formation to B *\*nāūtā-*, the subj. V stem to the verb B *naut-* ‘to vanish’, [q.v.] reflecting CT *\*æn-nāūtāttā*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 32sq.

B *anāyātte* (adj.) ‘ungiven’ is a privative formation to B *\*āyā-*, the subj. I stem to the verb B *ai-* ‘to give’, q.v., reflecting CT *\*æn-āyātā*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 84.

A *āneñci* (adv.) ‘well, exactly’ is well attested in that form but also in the variant form *āneñsi* (A *ñc* frequently changes to *ñs*); note also *āneñcikk ats* with enclitic particles. For the meaning, cf. 354 a5 *āneñci kākropu* = Skt. *susamvṛta-*. This word is somewhat unclear in its formation, but might reasonably contain the local prefix followed by a derivative of A *ānt* (B *ānte*) ‘surface, front, forehead’, i.e. CT *\*æn + \*āñciyā*, which after the operation of *ā*-umlaut developed an epenthetic *i-* in East Tocharian, yielding A *\*ānāñciyā* and finally A *āneñci*. Semantically, this would be acceptable, if one assumes that *\*āñciyā* had the meaning ‘end, utmost point’ or the like, cf. Skt. *ānta-* ‘end, limit’, Oīcel. *endi* ‘utmost point’ vs. Oīcel. *enni* ‘forehead’, etc. A *āneñci* would thus

be literally ‘into the end, to the limit’ > ‘well’. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 121. The previous association of A *āneñci* with A *eše* (B *aišai*) ‘diligently’ (Sieg & Sieglings & Schulze 1931: 3, Van Windekens 1976: 183) is phonologically impossible. See also B *ānte* ‘front, surface’ (A *ānt*), B *antapi* ‘both’ (A *āmpi*, *āmpuk*).

B *ānkaiṃ* ‘false, reverse’, see A *kem* ‘false, wrong’.

B *ānkānmi* ‘hold, support(?)’ of unknown gender is found only in the phrase (possibly compound) *snai ānkānmi* of 241 MQ a5 *yolaiñemem maukakai krent wāntrene spāntaiccu : spāntai(tsñe)m-pa šwaraike spā[ntai mā]sta nervānne : spāntai wilyuśc akalkā snai ānkānmi šāñ šaumo : spāntaitšñentāts ašām po ci wi(nask)au spāntaicu* ‘You turned away from evil, o truster in the good affair. With fourfold trust you went trustingly to Nirvāṇa. Trustingly, [having] a wish for wilyu\*, without *ānkānmi*, [you are your] own man. Worthy of all trusts, I revere you, o trusting one’. This translation is, of course, only tentative. By “without *ānkānmi*” could be meant ‘without holds’, i.e. ‘without holding on to something’; that translation would be prompted by the exocentric adj. B *ānkānmitstse\** translating Skt. *sādhāraṇe* (loc.sg.) ‘something common, common support, something that rests upon a common basis’. This adj. occurs in TX 2 a5 (Thomas 1974: 85) (*sādhāraṇe vi*)hanyante *ānkā[n]mi[cc]e[n]e* III. In view of the uncertainty of the meaning of these words, any etymological proposal would be hazardous.

B *ānkāre* (gender unknown) ‘immorality’ is a *hapax* of 2 Š b6 *llypauna k<sub>a</sub>šaintsa kaklautkau ānkāre wñolme(ntsa)* translated by Sieg & Sieglings 1949: 5: “... in den Ländern und Dörfern ist Sittiglosigkeit(?) (bei den) Wesen eingekehrt”. Van Windekens has suggested (1976: 147) that *ānkāre* is a prefixed formation, with *-kāre* cognate with Goth. *hors* ‘prostitute’, Oīcel. *hór* ‘adultery’, etc. Although it is tempting, this would seem phonologically impossible, because the retention of the “prefixal” nasal requires an underlying trisyllabic form with suffixal accent (not simply the *\*kāre* demanded by Van Windekens’ explanation, cf. B *ekalyimi* ‘under the direction of’ to *kālyimi* vs. *ēnkatre* ‘deeply’ to *kātkāre* ‘deep’). It is not unlikely that B *ānkāre* is a borrowing from Iranian, cf. Isebaert (1980: 178) who sees in this word a substantivization of an adjectival *\*ānkār-e*, formed to a CT *\*ānkār* from Mīr. *\*a-hangār* ‘irreverence’.

- B *ānklautkattē\** (adj.) 'unturning, irreversible' is a privative formation to B *\*klāutkā-* (beside *\*klāutkā-*), the subj. V stem to the verb B *klautk-* 'to turn, become', *q.v.*; reflecting CT *\*ænklāutkāttæ*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 23sq.
- B *antāpce* (gender unknown) 'fire, fire-brand' is a *hapax* of 8 Š a5 *pälketär-ne po kektseñe antāpce ramt enkāltsa* 'his whole body burns like a fire-brand with passion'. In spite of Van Windekens (1976: 145), this word cannot be seen as a part of the indigenous vocabulary of Tocharian. Following Hansen (1940: 145), Isebaert (1980: 64) sees this word as based on Middle Iranian *\*hantap* from *\*han-tapah-* 'fire', suggesting the following derivational history: CT *\*āntāp* produced the exocentric adj. *\*āntāptstsæ* which in turn produced the abstract *\*āntāpcæ*, cf. B *lānwce* 'lightness' to *lānkse* 'light'.
- B *antapi* (indecl.), A *āmpi* (m. [and f. (?)]), *āmpuk* (f.) 'both' is an adjectival numeral, indeclinable in West Tocharian, but apparently gender differentiated and inflected in East Tocharian (gen. *āmpē* and *āmpi-ne*, see below). B *antapi* is the prose form, while the regular verse form shows syncope, viz. *āntpi* (with the variants *āntpi*, *ātpi*, and *antpi*, *antpi*); B *annapi* (2x) is presumably to be read *antapi* (the signs for *-n-* and *-t-* are frequently indistinguishable), but *ānapi* of 325 M al is a disputed form and may be an altogether different word, *q.v.* A *āmpi* is classified as masculine in the handbooks. Out of its seven occurrences (in five contexts) it clearly qualifies masculine nouns five times and once its gender is unclear. Finally, *āmpi* occurs once with *kanwem* 'knees' that probably – but not definitely – is of feminine or neuter gender. That is, A *āmpi* is probably masculine, but may possibly be applicable to any gender. A *āmpuk* is clearly feminine in both its occurrences. B *antapi*, *āntpi* is formally matched by A *āmpi*. The immediate CT preform was *\*āntāpāy(ā)* > *\*āntāpi*. In East Tocharian *-ā-* has been lost in an open syllable and the resulting sequence *-ntp-* has been simplified to *-np-* and assimilated to *-mp-*. As shown by Jasanoff (1976), these Tocharian forms reflect IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>ent-bho-* with *\*H<sub>2</sub>ent-* 'front' as found in Hitt. *hant-* 'forehead, front', Lat. *ante* 'in front of', Toch. B *ānte* 'surface, forehead', etc., and as already seen by Meillet (1911a: 147), the Tocharian forms are to be identified with Gk. *ἄμφω* 'both', Lat. *ambō* 'id.', etc. More precisely, CT *\*āntāpāy(ā)* from earlier *\*āntpāy(ā)* through anaptyxis is a weakened form of *\*āntpāy(ā)* from IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>ent-bhoiH<sub>i</sub>*, a neuter dual, cf. B *wi* 'two' from CT *\*wāy(ā)*, the weakened variant of CT *\*wāy(ā)* as found

in A *we* 'two', ultimately from a neuter dual IE *\*duoiH<sub>i</sub>*. Differently Kortlandt (1991: 7) who suggests a derivation from IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>nt-bhi-H<sub>e</sub>*. A *āmpi* has probably acquired masculine function through the generalization of the originally neuter form. Such a development is understandable, if A *āmpi* was (for a period) used for all genders as was the corresponding form in West Tocharian. In contradistinction to the West Tocharian state of affairs, however, the old masculine form was not completely ousted in East Tocharian. Instead, upon losing to *āmpi* the battle for the primary masculine function, *āmpuk* was relegated to the secondary function of a feminine. In that scenario, A *āmpuk*, segmented as *\*āmpu + k(V)* (an emphatic particle), can be derived without effort through CT *\*āntāpu* from the IE masculine dual *\*H<sub>2</sub>ent-bhō-*; for the phonological development implied, cf. A *oktuk* 'eighty' < CT *\*æktu + k(V)* < *\*oktō* vs. A *okāt* 'eight' (B *okt*) < CT *\*æktu*. Differently Adams (1991: 33) who posits IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>ent-bhōu*, and Kortlandt (1991: 7) who suggests *\*H<sub>2</sub>nt-bhi-k<sup>w</sup>(e)*, with *-uk* < *\*-āk<sup>w</sup>* as in A *yuk* 'horse'. As indicated above, East Tocharian has two genitive forms, *āmpē* and *āmpi-ne*. The latter form occurs only once and qualifies two neuter genitives. Pedersen (1941: 82) and Van Windekens (1979: 279) assume the final *-i-ne* here is analogical to that of *ti-ne* 'of those two', and Winter (1962b: 124-125 n.44) understands it as either analogical or as a mixture of *āmpē* and *ti-ne* (*o.c.*, p. 131). However, as A *āmpi* – as indicated above – presumably went through a period of being used with words of any gender, the first component of *āmpi-ne* need not surprise. It is simply identical with the nominative form *āmpi*, whereas *-ne* is the flexional (genitive) form of the dual marker *-m*. Thus the relation nom. *āmpi* ~ gen. *āmpi-ne* parallels the relation nom. *ti-m* ~ gen. *ti-ne*. The gen. A *āmpē* is classified by Krause & Thomas (1960: 161) as a masculine form – qualified with a question mark. However, out of three occurrences it is found twice with *pis-sānkāmtwe* 'of two monastic communities' which is clearly a neuter, while in its third and last occurrence its reference is unclear. A *āmpē* reflects CT *\*āntāpāyā* from IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>ent-bhoiH<sub>i</sub>*, a genitive dual of the same type as Gk. (Hom.) *-οιυ* (Att. *-οιυ*) < IE *\*-oiH<sub>i</sub>* + *n*. For a detailed discussion of all the Tocharian forms for 'both', cf. Hilmarsson 1989b: 56-58, 61-67; cf. more recently Adams 1991 with extensive discussion of Tocharian and Indo-European dual forms and Kortlandt 1991. See also B *ānte* 'front, forehead, surface' (A *ānt*), A *āneñci* 'well'.

B *ānte* (m. sg.), A *ānt* (gender unknown) 'surface, forehead, front' is attested only in the singular, but it is probably a masculine thematic noun. With Couvreur (1949: 34) this word is to be associated with Hitt. *hant-* 'forehead, front', Lat. *ante* 'in front of', Skt. *antā-* 'limit, end', etc. Note also Oicel. *enni* 'forehead' < Gmc. \**anþija-*, and Oicel. *endi* 'end, limit' < Gmc. \**andīja-*. The CT preform was \**āntæ* from IE \**H<sub>2</sub>ento-s*. See also B *antapi* 'both' (A *āmpi*, *āmpuk*), A *āneñci* 'well'.

B *āñiye* (m. sg.) 'breath' is a hapax of H 149. 71 a6 ...e[ts] w[s]ešše *āñiye tar[kā]r[m](pa) tase[m(a)](ne)* 'the poisonous breath of the X like a cloud'; the context makes it likely that X is snakes or serpents. A further occurrence is probably to be seen in the same text, line b2 : *āñi* ///. This word, being a masculine, could be a substantivized adjective in *-iye*, but an *n*-stem noun of class VI,2 probably cannot be excluded (type B *swāñico*, *swāñciye* 'ray') even though that is primarily a feminine class. It is hardly of class VI,1 which is exclusively feminine in West Tocharian. It seems natural to connect this word with B *ānāsk-* 'to breathe (in)' and IE \**H<sub>2</sub>enH<sub>1</sub>-* 'to breathe'. For CT one might reconstruct \**āñiye* from (as if) IE \**H<sub>2</sub>enH<sub>1</sub>-io-*, cf. OCS *vonja* 'smell' < \**H<sub>2</sub>enH<sub>1</sub>-ieH<sub>2</sub>*. See also B *ānāsk-* 'to inhale', B *āñim-* 'to wish', B *āñime* 'self; wish' (A *āñcām*), B *āñmālaške* 'compassionate', B *āñmalāšlñe* 'compassion' [[B *onolme* 'being']].

B *āñim-* 'to wish' (pres. XII [1sg. med.] (*a*)*ñmaññemar*, [impf. 3sg. med.] *añmaññītār*) is denominatively formed to B *āñime* 'wish'. This noun was an *n*-stem of class V,2 with an obl.sg. *āñim* from CT \**āñcm* 'ān(-ām). As did all *n*-stems not denoting rational masculine beings, this word dropped the suffixal nasal, resulting in B \**āñmā* > *āñim*. However, before the loss of the suffixal nasal, the stem form B *āñmān-* produced the denominative verb B \**āñmāññāle-* through *-i* suffixation, cf. Hilmarsson (1991b, esp. p. 82sq.) for a discussion of such formations. See also B *āñime* 'self; wish' (A *āñcām*), B *āñmālaške* 'compassionate', B *āñmalāšlñe* 'compassion'; B *ānāsk-* 'to inhale', B *āñiye* 'breath' [[B *onolme* 'being']].

B *āñmālaške* (adj.) 'compassionate' is an adjective of class II,3 (note the voc. *āñmālaška*). It is relatively frequently attested, but once the form is *āñmālaške* (22 Š b8), and once (*a*)*ñmālarške*\* (H 149 add. 120 b3). The variant with *-mške* has possibly been influenced by B *lalaške* 'tender', while the form in *-arške* may be analogical to adjectives of the type *māntarške*\* 'evil', *klānkarške*\* 'doubtful'.

An abstract derivative is B *āñmālaškāññe*\* 'compassionateness'. As noted by Van Windekens (1976: 146), B *āñmālaške* is a compound of B *āñime* and a form of the verb B *āl-āsk-* 'to be sick, be weak'. The following analysis might be proposed. First, we have the obl.sg. *āñm(ā)* 'soul, heart' followed by the gerundive I \**ālāššäl* in the stem (compound) form \**ālāššäl* followed by the adj.-forming suffix *-ške* as in *māntarške*, *klānkarške*. This *-ške* I suggest derives from CT \**-šakæ*, cognate with the verb B *sik-* 'to step, place the foot' [[*(q.v.)*]], and means originally 'stepping, turning to, tending toward something' (see discussion of this suffix under B *klānkarške* 'doubtful'). B *āñmālaške*, haplologically from B \**āñmā-ālāššäl-ške*, thus means literally 'one who tends towards soul-meekness', i.e. 'compassionate'. For the formation see also B *āñmalāšlñe* 'compassion'. For *āñim-* see also B *āñime* 'self, soul; wish' (A *āñcām*), B *āñm-* 'to wish', B *ānāsk-* 'to inhale', B *āñiye* 'breath' [[B *onolme* 'being']]. For *-ālaš-* see B *āl-āsk-* 'to be sick, weak'.

B *āñmalāšlñe*\* (m. sg.) 'compassion, pity' is quite frequently attested. The final syllable(s) may vary: one meets forms in *-šlñe*, *-šlyñe*, *-šālñe*, and a completely assimilated *-šle*. Out of some twenty occurrences, this word (and its derivative endocentric adjective in *-šše*) is found only twice in standard Šorčuq texts; all other instances are in MQ texts that do not give a definite indication of accent or where to place the diacritics. The spelling *āñmalāšlñe* as cited above is based on the testimony of the text 364 Š a2 where we find the perlativ *āñmalāšlñesa* which seems to be supported by 268 Š b3 (*āñ*)*m(a)lāšlñe*. This is, of course, somewhat anomalous in a nominal form where one might have expected *āñmālašlñe*. It seems necessary to assume that the element *-alāšlñe* (< \**-ālāššālñe*), being an abstract to the gerundive of the verb B *ālāsk-* 'to be weak, sick', has kept the accentuation of the uncompounded form, and that the first member *āñm-* retained its accentuation or for some reason received secondary accent. The meaning of *āñmalāšlñe* is literally 'soul-meekness, heart-weakness', i.e. 'compassion', cf. discussion under B *āñmālaške* 'compassionate'. For *āñim-* see also B *āñime* 'self, soul; wish' (A *āñcām*); B *āñm-* 'to wish', B *ānāsk-* 'to inhale', B *āñiye* 'breath' [[B *onolme* 'being']]. For *-ālaš-* see B *āl-āsk-* 'to be sick, weak'.

B *āñmāñe* '?' is a hapax of H 149 add. 130 a1 /// *snai a[ñ]māñe* --. This form presumably stands for *āñmāññe* which could be



formed to B (obl.sg.) *āñm* 'self, soul; wish', but the context does not allow any definite conclusions.

B *āñme* (sg. only; gender unknown), A *āñcām* (sg. only; gender unknown) 'self, soul; (B) wish' is in West Tocharian a noun of class V,2 (obl. *āñm*, gen. *āñmantse*), while in East Tocharian the inflection is that of a thematic noun (gen. *āñmes*, comit. *āñmaśśāl*, abl. *āñmaś* beside *āñmāś*). It is likely, however, that the East Tocharian paradigm was identical to the West Tocharian one originally, having an obl.sg. *\*āñmā*, as might be indicated by the abl.sg. form *āñmāś* as well as by the adverbial A *ynāñm* 'with dignity' (B *ynāñm*) with derived *ynāñmune* 'dignity' (B *ynāñmāññe*) from *\*yān* + (obl.sg.) *\*āñmā*. B *āym-*, *aiym-*, *aim-* are eastern dialect variants of standard *āñm-*; such variants are also frequent in East Tocharian; note furthermore the occasional forms in A *ālym-* (dissimilation). A *āñcām* reflects pre-apocope *\*āñcma* from CT *\*āñcmæ*. When apocope did not take place, the cluster *-ñcm-* was simplified to *-ñm-*; hence B *āñme*, *āñm*, and A *āñma-*. There are various derived adjectives that in B are based on the obl.sg. form *\*āñmā*, while in A they are derived from the generalized nom.sg. form (*\*āñcma* >) *\*āñma*, viz. possessive adj. B *āñmassu* 'desirous' (once *āñmasu*, eastern dialect *aiymasu*), endocentric adj. B *āñmaśse*, A *āñmaši* 'pertaining to self', exocentric adj. B *āñmatstse\** 'pertaining to self', also the derivational basis of the possessive adj. A *-āñmatsum\**. B *āñme* (and A *āñcām*) as a class V,2 noun is an *n*-stem, reflecting nom.sg. *\*-ēn*, acc.sg. *\*-en-ñ*. This statement is supported by the denominative verb B *āñm-* 'to wish', *q.v.*, that forms a class XII nasal present *āñmāññāle-* (cf. Hilmarsson 1991b: 82sq.). The CT preforms were thus *\*āñcm'æ*, obl.sg. *\*āñcm'āñā(ñ)*. As for the etymology, it has long been recognized that *āñm-* must be somehow related to Lat. *animus* 'spirit', etc., but it has been difficult to accommodate A *āñcām* within that scheme of things, cf. Van Windekens (1976: 163sq. with lit.). With Schneider (1940: 203) and esp. Klingenschmitt (1975b: 155) it seems best to assume that these Tocharian words (as united under CT *\*āñcmæ*) represent an underlying IE *\*eH<sub>1</sub>t-men-* (cf. Skt. *ātman-* 'soul, self') that has suffered the influence of the root *\*H<sub>2</sub>enH<sub>1</sub>-* 'to breathe', producing a pre-Toch. *\*H<sub>2</sub>ent-men-*, i.e. a nom.sg. *\*H<sub>2</sub>entmē(n)*, acc.sg. *\*H<sub>2</sub>entmen-ñ*, yielded CT *\*āñcm'æ*, *\*āñcm'āñā(ñ)*. See also B *āñm-* 'to wish', B *āñmāñe* '?', B *āñmālaške* 'compassionate', B *āñmalāšlñe* 'compassion', B *āñāsk-* 'to inhale', B *āñiye* 'breath' [B *onolme* 'being']].

A *<sup>1</sup>āp\** (gender unknown) 'ancestor or grandfather' is a *hapax*, attested in the obl.pl. *āpas*, but its meaning is reasonably clear: 256 a4 *āpas pācrāśśi śaśmunt slyi cam mar katkat* 'do not transgress the rule [that] has been established by ancestors (or 'grandfathers') [and] fathers'. Theoretically, this word could be connected with either of two West Tocharian words. First, as suggested by Van Windekens (1976: 166), A *āp\** might be a perfect formal match of B *āppo\** 'papa, dad, dear father'. The expressive geminate of the latter word would have been simplified in A *āp\** (obl.pl. *āpas*), as were all East Tocharian geminates inherited from CT. Although the expressive, affectionate value of B *āppo\** is lacking in the East Tocharian term, which appears to have a quite neutral value, this could reflect a secondary semantic development on the part of East Tocharian, cf. Goth. *atta* 'father', an originally affectionate term that has received neutral value. Second, it has been suggested by Thomas (1988: 161 with n.21) that A *āp\** is the A-pendant of B *āwe* to which he assigns the meaning 'grandfather'. There are problems with this alternative that, at present, render it inferior to the first one. For one thing, the meaning of B *āwe*, attested without context (*āwe mācer*) in an unpublished Berlin fragment (Thomas, *l.c.*), has not been established beyond doubt (see discussion *s.v.*, and under B *āwi* 'apparent, evident'). And, furthermore, if B *āwe* were correctly derived from an IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>eyH<sub>2</sub>o-s*, the *-p-* of A *āp\** would not be immediately expected; it cannot be denied, though, that there are instances of *-p-* for *\*-w-*, so that this would not be a decisive argument in the case of a *hapax legomenon*. See also B *āppo\** 'papa, dear father' and B *āwe* '?'.  
B *<sup>2</sup>āp* (f.), A *āp\** (f., only sg.) 'river, stream' is in West Tocharian an athematic noun of class V,3 (obl.pl. *āpām*), and presumably also in East Tocharian (cf. abl.sg. *āpāś* beside the loc.sg. *āpam*). The feminine gender is well attested in both languages, and – as pointed out by Couvreur 1955-56: 70 – this points to an indigenous term rather than a borrowing from Sanskrit. The CT preform was *\*āpā* from *\*āp* (all monosyllabic stems are extended with *-ā-*), reflecting IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>ep-*, cf. Skt. *āp-* 'water', Hitt. *ḥa-pa-a* 'to the river', OPr. *ape* 'brook, small river', etc.

B *apākārtse* (adv.) 'evident, clear' is found several times in collocation with the verbs *yām-* meaning 'to make evident, reveal' and *lānt-* meaning 'to leave openly'. A matching prefixed formation is not found in East Tocharian, where, conversely, one finds corresponding non-prefixed *pākār yām-* and *pākār lānt-*. B



*apākārtse* (the spelling *apākārtse* is also found) is originally an exocentric adj. formation to an *\*āpākār* which in turn reflects a prepositional phrase *\*æn + \*pākṛā* 'in the open, in a clear (manner)'. Discussion of this form in Hilmarsson 1991a: 121-123. See also B *apākri* '?', B *apākre* 'openly(?)', B *apāksai* 'in an exposing manner' [[B *pākri* 'clear, evident' (A *pākār*)]].

B *apākre*\* 'in the open(?)' is a *hapax* of 69 Š a2 *oṣle pākre klain[ām]pa kca treṇsate*. It seems preferable to take *oṣle pākre* as being a *sandhi*-product of *oṣle apākre*. These two words might then be seen as a sort of antonyms, formed in a parallel manner with the local prefix (CT *\*æn-* 'in'). The line could then be translated: 'in the dark [ānd] in the open he clung to a certain woman', but cf. Sieg & Siegling 1949: 80: "... abends und morgens(?) hängte er sich an eine Frau". Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 146sq., but cf. also Winter 1988: 783-786. See also B *apākri* '?', B *apāksai* 'in an exposing manner', B *apākārtse* 'evident' [[B *pākri* 'clear, evident' (A *pākār*)]].

B *apākri* '?' is a *hapax* attested in H add. 149. 71 b3, virtually without a context. From a purely formal point of view it seems likely, however, that this word is a prefixed formation to B *pākri* 'clear, evident'. See also B *apākre* 'openly(?)', B *apāksai* 'in an exposing manner', B *apākārtse* 'evident' [[B *pākri* 'clear, evident' (A *pākār*)]].

B *apāksai* (adv.) 'in an exposing manner, with exposed genitals' is a *hapax* of H 149. add. 131 a5 *mā apāksai ene(ṇka) III*. Couvreur (1954a: 51) translates "Nicht zurückgelehnt im inneren (Gemach)", based on Skt. *na vidāṅgikayāntargrhe*. Skt. *vidāṅgikā* is in the Tibetan part of the Mahāvyutpatti rendered with 'showing the private parts' (also in Chinese and Japanese on Mvy.). According to Finot (as cited by Edgerton 1985: 487), a Chinese rendering of the Prātimokṣasūtra has 'bending over' ('nous courber'), which appears to have influenced Couvreur's translation. Adams (unpubl.) suggests that *apāksai* basically has the meaning 'exposing oneself' as would seem likely because of the natural etymological association with B *apākārtse* 'openly', B *pākri* 'clear, evident', etc. B *apāksai* reflects an earlier prepositional phrase *\*æn + \*pāksai* with *ā*-umlaut in the first syllable. The second member *-pāksai* is clearly the obl.sg. to a noun of class VI,2 (nom.sg. *\*pāksō* or *\*paksīye*). The origins of the *-ś-* are difficult to assess. Possibly it reflects *\*-śy-* < *\*-k-ī-*, or possibly *\*-śc-* < *\*-st-*. If the latter is correct, one might posit an (as if) IE *\*pak-s-ijōn*. See also B

*apākri* '?', B *apākre* 'openly(?)', B *apākārtse* 'evident' [[B *pākri* 'clear, evident' (A *pākār*)]].

B *apāṣṣātte* (adj.) 'not observing (the rules of moral conduct)' is a privative formation to B *\*pāṣṣā-*, a previously existing subj. V stem, later replaced by *\*pāṣṣā-*, to the verb B *pāsk-* 'to guard', [[q.v.,]] reflecting CT *\*æn-pāṣṣāttæ*. Detailed discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 110sq.

B *aplāc* (adv.) 'in conversation' is a *hapax* of 3 Š a5 *ṣamyem māka ṣamāni aplāc* 'many monks were sitting in conversation'. It clearly represents an earlier prepositional phrase *\*æn + \*plācā* with the obl.sg. *plāc* to B *plāce* 'speech' as its second member. The prefixal vocalism has suffered *ā*-umlaut, and the prefixal nasal has been regularly lost in immediately pre-accentual position. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 123. [[See also B *plāce* 'speech' (A *plāc*)]].

B *appakke* 'dear father', see B *āppo*\* 'papa'.

B *āppo*\* (gender unknown) 'papa, dad, father' is presumably a masculine noun (attested only in the singular) of class VI,2 (obl. *āppai*, voc. *āppa*). The gen. *āppantse* is at first sight strange, because nouns of class VI,2 regularly have a gen.sg. in B *-aintse*, cf. *oksaintse* 'ox's', *swaṇcaintse* 'ray's', *śconaintse* 'hate's', etc. Conversely, nouns of class VI,3a have a gen.sg. in B *-antse*, cf. *arṣāklantse* 'serpent's', *oṅkolmantse* 'elephant cow's', etc. Winter (1989) suggested that the distribution of plurals in *-aiñ* and *-añ* is determined by the number of syllables preceding that ending, but it seems likely that the conditioning factor was rather the accent, i.e. accented *-aiñ* vs. unaccented *-añ* (Hilmarsson 1989b: 82sq.). If that was the rule, it would be applicable to the genitive forms as well (*oksaintse* ~ *arṣāklantse*). The few exceptions would be easily understandable. Thus, B *kēḍ-pyapyantse* 'dandelion's' has compound accentuation on the first member, so that we get an unaccented *-pyapyantse* (vs. an accented free-standing *\*pyapyaintse* to class VI,2 *pyāpyo* 'flower'), and B *wertsaintse* has been syncopated (*-tsiy-* > *-tsy-*) and assimilated (*-tsy-* > *-ts(ts)-*) and subsequently received normalized accent (to class VI,3a *wertsīya* 'gathering'). The genitive *āppantse* (so in 587 Š b4, apparently *āppantse* in PK NS 355 a1 [Thomas 1988: 162 n.21]) clearly has initial accent. This is abnormal, but the reason must be that *āppantse* (as the entire paradigm) is based on the vocative *āppa*, an affectionate "nursery" term with initial accent, whose inflec-

tional forms do not abide by the general rules for Tocharian accentuation. However, being so accented, the genitive form had to be *āppantse* and not *\*āppaintse*. The geminate of *āppo\** must also be seen in the light of its being a "nursery" term. A diminutive or hypocoristic derived from *\*āppo* is B *appakke* 'dear father' (voc. *appakka*), cf. also B *ammakki* (voc.) 'dear mother', whatever the precise source of the suffix (IE *\*-ko-*, *\*-ko-*, *vel sim.*). The *-kk-* shows the regular gemination of suffixal consonants in post-accentual position. Etymologically, B *āppo\** has been correctly associated with Gk. *πάππa, ἀπφά* 'papa, dear father'. The CT preform was *\*āppo* from (as if) IE *\*app(h)ōn*. It is questionable whether A *¹āp\** 'ancestor or grandfather' (attested is the obl.pl. *āpas*) bears any relationship to B *āppo\** – at least the hypocoristic, diminutive character of B *āppo\** is totally lacking in A *āp\**. Presumably, however, it cannot be ruled out that these two forms are equivalent; formally, that would work out perfectly, because all geminates inherited from CT are simplified in East Tocharian (the actual geminates of East Tocharian are a late development). For A *¹āp\** 'ancestor or grandfather', see s.v., and also B *āwe* '?

B *apsāl* (gender unknown) 'sword' is attested only in the singular. Van Windekens<sup>1</sup> interpretation of this word as an indigenous one is inadequate. As suggested by Krause & Thomas (1960: 71) this is an Iranian loanword, presumably continuing PahlB *'pz'l* ('*pc'l*, PahlT *'bc'r*) 'instrument, weapon' as proposed by Gippert (1979: 276-77), *pace* Isebaert (1980: 64) who looks for a different Middle Iranian source (Mlr. *\*aβsāl* 'knife, sword').

B *arai* (exclam.) 'o, oh' occurs several times, often followed by vocatives. Any interpretation of this exclamation is obviously hazardous. It is clear from the accentuation, though, that *arai* cannot be interpreted as a petrified obl.sg. in *-ai*. Possibly, one might suggest connection with the enclitic particle B *ra*, A *-r* 'and', from CT *\*rā*, reflecting IE *\*rH₂* (cf. Gk. *ἔρ, ἔρα, ἔρα* 'now, also'). B *arai* might then reflect CT *\*arāy(ā)* from (as if) IE *\*rH₂-ai* 'and oh' with *\*rH₂* in proclitic position and *\*ai* being the exclamation proper. [See also B *ra* 'and' (A *-r*).]

B *arañce* (m.), A *āriñc* (gender unknown) 'heart' is in West Tocharian a noun of the athematic class V,2 (obl. *arañc*, nom.pl. *arañci*, obl. *arañcām\**). The flexion of the East Tocharian form,

found only in the singular, is unknown. In B several orthographic and/or metrical variants of frequent types occur, e.g. obl.sg. *araś*, *arañco* (with mobile *-o*), *arañca* (MQ), for *arañc*, and loc.sg. *aramšne* for *arañcne*. The B obl.pl. *arañcām\** is found in the loc.pl. *arañcāñne* and behind the erroneous *arañciñ* (266 Š b2). The endocentric adj. B *arañcāšše\**, A *āriñci* 'pertaining to the heart', and the exocentric adj. B *arañcātstse\** (*hapax*) 'compassionate, (i.e.) having a heart' are formed to the oblique singular stem. A further adj. formation is found in A *āriñci\** 'cordial, heartfelt', q.v. Since A *āriñc* reflects earlier *\*ārāñc* from *\*ārāñc* through palatal epenthesis, the CT denominator for B *arañce* and A *āriñc* can be posited as an *n*-stem *\*ārāñcæ(n)*, obl. *\*ārāñcāñ-ā(m)*. Etymologically, this word has not been definitively explained. Van Windekens (1976: 167) suggests connection with the IE root *\*H₂er-* 'to adjust, fix, join', found extended in Tocharian B and A *art(t)-* 'to love', and understands B *arañce*, A *āriñc*, as an original adj. 'pertaining to love' → subst. 'heart' (as 'the seat of love'). This seems semantically tenuous. Also, the class V,2 flexion is not compatible with an interpretation of this word as an original thematic adjective of the type A *šuliñc* 'mountainous' as envisaged by Van Windekens. Pisani's connection (1942-43) with Gk. *ἡτορ* 'heart' is phonologically untenable. Stalmaszczyk & Witczak (1990: 36-39) suggest association with OIr. *áru* (gen.sg. *árann*) 'kidney', etc., positing an underlying IE *\*adren-* with a *ti*-extension in Tocharian, i.e. *\*adrenti-* > CT *\*ārāñcā-*. While the obl.pl. B *arañcām\** prohibits seeing this word as a *ti*-stem (cf. the *ti*-stem obl.pl. B *āstām* to *āšce* 'head'), it might theoretically reflect an *n*-stem extension of a *ti*-stem, i.e. *\*-n-ti-ēn*; however, it might also quite simply reflect *\*-nt-ēn*. A definitive decision as to the etymology of these words does not seem possible at present. I would prefer to derive them from IE *\*H₂er-nt-ēn*, an *n*-stem extension of a participial formation, but a semantic link with IE *\*H₂er-* 'to adjust, fix' or *\*H₂er-* 'to offer, give; acquire', or other verbal roots listed as *\*ar-* by Pokorny, seems difficult to establish. See also A *āriñci\** 'cordial, heartfelt'.

B *āre* (m., only sg.), A *āre\** (*hapax*) 'plough' is presumably a thematic noun of class V,1 in West Tocharian (obl.sg. *āre*, perl. *aretsa* [for this form, see below]), a deverbative (originally) abstract to an unattested verbal root B *\*ār-* 'to plough', formed in the same manner as B *klenke*, A *klāñk* 'vehicle' to the verb BA *klāñk-* 'to ride, travel by vehicle'. The difference in vocalism between B *āre* and *klenke* indicates inherent *ā*-vocalism in the

<sup>1</sup> This is no doubt a reference to Van Windekens (1976: 148).

former; it shows that *āre* must be a Tocharian creation, for regularly one would expect (IE) *o*-vocalism in this type of formation (cf. again B *klenke*, A *klank*). A *āre*\* (attested once in the pl. *āreñ*) is a borrowing from West Tocharian. It forms an endocentric adj. *āreši*\* (*hapax*) 'pertaining to a plough', cf. Poetto 1988: 211 n.3. For CT one may posit *\*āræ* to a verbal root *\*ār-* for expected *\*æræ* that would reflect (as if) IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>orH<sub>3</sub>o-s* to the root *\*H<sub>2</sub>erH<sub>3</sub>-* 'to plough'. Etymology originally Sieg & Siegling & Schulze 1931: 3. The *hapax* form B *aretsa* of 526 S b2 *///cē<sub>u</sub> k[e]našše aretsa ///* 'with this plough of the earth' is presumably to be interpreted as a perlativ singular to B *āre*, even though one would have expected the form to be *\*āresa*. There are further errors and orthographic deviations in this text.

A *āresāsyō* (inst.[?].pl.[?]) '?' is attested three times, but the contexts are broken and do not reveal its meaning. Possibly the *-yō* is not the instrumental marker here, but rather the connective particle 'and', in which case *āresās* could be a proper name. There is hardly any immediate connection with A *āre*\* 'plough'.

B *aretsa*, see B *āre* 'plough' (A *āre*).

B *āri* of 428 M a3 (*au*)*rtse**sa cau* [*nā*]*nauk* [*k*]*lāmte āri š* *///* is presumably a verbal form (opt. 3sg., not mentioned by Krause 1952) to B *ār-* 'to cease' [*q.v.*].

A *āriñci*\* (adj.) 'cordial, heartfelt' is an adj. of class I.1. It is a *hapax legomenon* of 338 b7 *tuñkyo āriñcim* 'with heartfelt love', formed to A *āriñc* 'heart' by means of the adj. suffix CT *\*-iyæ* (> A *-i*). See also B *arañce* 'heart' (A *āriñc*).

B *ārka*\* (gender unknown) 'arka-plant (*Calotropis gigantea*)' is a *hapax* of 497 Š b7 *arkants[e tsāñ]wale* 'a stalk(?) of the arka-plant' in a list of medical ingredients. Adams (unpubl.) is surely right in seeing here a borrowing of BHS *arka-* 'id.'. He furthermore suggests that the genitive forms *erkantse*, *erkāntse*, attested some four times in the Weber texts, represent the same word, e.g. W 5 a6 *erkāntse yasoñña* 'sap of the arka-plant'. Should this be correct, the reflex *erk-* for *ark-* is exceptional although not unheard of in loanwords. The examples that I am aware of, however, are from Iranian sources, cf. Winter 1971. [See also B *erk*\* 'arka-plant'.]

B *arkañ* 'reception(?)' (causalis[?]) is a form that has given rise to much discussion. It is seen as a 3sg. subj. (with an enclitic pronoun) by Krause (1952: 221), while Couvreur (1954b: 86)

interprets it as a 3sg. pres. Both scholars take it as a suppletive part of the paradigm of B *ārc-* 'to be obliged to', cf. also K.T. Schmidt (1969: 100), Van Windekens (1976: 621). However, it is not at all certain that *arkañ* is a verbal form. This was first suggested by Winter (1984: 119) who proposed that it represents the causalis of a substantive B *\*ārka* 'reception (of a guest)' that in turn would be a loanword, reflecting Skt. *argha-* 'respectful reception of a guest'. In a fairly detailed discussion (1991b: 89-90), I have more or less accepted Winter's interpretation. B *arkañ* is attested thus in 331 S b2 *tanāpate šamāneñ šwātsiś kākatār tompok weñ-ne ašari ñiś šesketstse (ne)sau ška yatsi arkañā mā š campau makte ka š preke karsar ška kampā · taiseñ weweñu tākam ot ka šamānentse mant yatsi rittetār ·* '[If] a host invites a monk to eat, [and] at the same [time] says to him: "Master, I am alone, and I cannot go [out] then because of reception(?). Just [let] know the time yourself, [and] come then!", if he says so, then surely it is proper for a monk to go thus'. In this perfectly good and carefully written text, an erroneous spelling of a verbal form *arkañ* for correct *arkā(m)ñ* or *ārka(m)ñ* would certainly be unexpected. If primarily for that reason, it seems better to take *arkañ* as a substantive. In its only other occurrence this word is written *arkam* which superficially has the appearance of a verbal 3sg. form. The text runs: 584 MQ a3 */// [va] arkam yopu nauš ri(ne)*. It is relevant to note, however, that this text shows many instances of aberrant spelling. In particular, there are frequent occurrences of final *-m* for *-ñ*. It is certainly possible, not to say probable, that *arkam* here simply stands for *arkañ*. The line might then be translated: '... I shall first enter the city because of a reception(?)', *vel sim*. With due notice of the semantic uncertainties, it would seem that Winter's proposal is acceptable, and that B *ārka*\* with the causalis *arkañ* reflects a loanword from an Indic source.

A *arkäts*\* (adj.) '?' is a *hapax* of 388 b1 *sām ak mā nām̐tsu · arkätsām pä///*. Unfortunately, no translation can be ventured and etymological speculation is futile.

B *arkiye* (adj. ?) '?' is a prose form found in 176 M b2 [*š*]*i*[*kšapatā*]*ntse špā arkiye* [*pu*]*tk[a]lñe nesalle š[i]* 'and for the šikšāpada (moral precept) there was to be an *arkiye* suppression', while a verse form is found in 373 Qu frgm. d *arkye pelai(kn)e* 'the *arkiye* Law'. Unfortunately, the meaning of this word is entirely unclear. Adams (*apud* Hilmarsson 1991b: 90 n.12) suggests the translation "necessary", but that is an assumption based

on the word B *arkaṇ* which Adams takes as an impersonal verbal form to a B *ār-k-* 'to be necessary'. For the rejection of a putative verb B *ār-k-*, see B *arkaṇ* '?'. In view of the semantic opaqueness of B *arkiye*, no etymology can be ventured.

B *arkṇye*, as read by Lévi (K 10 a3), is incorrect for *artkye*, *q.v.*

B *arkwañca* '?' is a *hapax* of H 149. 320 b6 /// *māllarška a(r)[kw](a)ñca [lā-] ///*. The meaning is entirely unclear and no etymology can be hazarded. Also, the reading would have to be verified.

B *ārkwī* (adj.), A *ārki* (adj.) 'white' is in West Tocharian an *n*-stem adj. of class II,1, while in East Tocharian the *n*-stem flexion has been partly contaminated with an *nt*-flexion, possibly under the influence of its antonym A *arkant-* 'black', as suggested by Winter (1968: 62 = 1984: 280), or – perhaps rather – on the pattern of class II,5 (type A *klyom* 'noble', obl.sg. *klyomont*). It is to some extent unclear how to define the attested forms. The nom.sg. m. B *ārkwī*, A *ārki*, is clear; for the obl.sg. m. Winter (*l.c.*) posits B *ārkwī*, while conceding that its supposed attestation in 28 Š b4 could also be interpreted as a nom.sg. As the paradigm of B *ārkwī* might be said to coincide with the pattern of West Tocharian agent nouns in *-i*, which have an obl.sg. in *-im*, one might expect B *ārkwī* – even though uniquely non-agentive – to have an obl.sg. m. in *-im* in view of its *n*-stem flexion, cf. B *lāre* 'dear', obl.sg. m. *larem*. Possibly, such a form is attested in *arkwiṃ* of H 149. add. 129 a2 *saiwaisa arkwiṃ tseñcem*, a text of uncertain dialect provenience, that the handbooks have defined as a nom.pl. m. form with the (not infrequent) final *-m* for expected *-ñ*. The attested or potentially attested forms of this adj. are then as follows: B *ārkwī*, obl. *arkwiṃ* (or nom.pl.?), nom.pl. *arkwiṃ* (or obl.sg.?), obl. *arkwinām*, fem. *arkwañña*, obl. *arkwaññai*, nom./obl.pl. *arkwina*; A *ārki*, obl. *ārkyant*, nom.pl. *ārkyamś*, fem. *ārkim*, obl. *ārkinām*, nom./obl.pl. *ārkyant*. An abstract B *arkwiññe* 'whiteness' (*hapax* of Y 3 a4) is formed to the masc. *ārkwī* (or the obl. *arkwiṃ* [?]), and an endocentric *arkwaññaṣṣe* 'white, whitish' to the fem. *arkwañña*. Furthermore, note A *ārki-śoši* 'the world, (lit.) the white world' (cf. for the formation Russ. *belyj svet* 'id.' [Pedersen 1941: 262]). The fem. sg. B *arkwañña* has a regular match in A *ārkim*, as shown by Winter (1977: 150 = 1984: 195), for the latter reflects earlier *\*ārkwāññā* through palatal epenthesis (and reduction of *-kw-* to *-k-* as always in A), and the CT denominator can be posited as *\*ārkwāññā* < *\*ārkwāñyā*. The

fem. pl. B *arkwina*, on the other hand, seems to be based on the stem form *\*ārkwīn-* (cf. obl.pl. m. *arkwinām*) through addition of the feminine plural marker *\*-ā*. As already indicated, the East Tocharian forms show a mixed paradigm. The nom.sg. m. *ārki* has served as a basis that has been extended with a suffixal *\*-ant-* in the obl.sg. m. *ārkyant*, nom.pl. m. *ārkyamś* and in the nom./obl.pl. f. *ārkyant*. The feminine nom.sg. was explained above; it preserves the old *n*-stem formant before the fem. marker *\*-yā*; the resulting A *-im* has thereupon served as a basis for the fem. singular paradigm (obl. *ārkinām*). We have now concluded that the unique paradigm of B *ārkwī* and A *ārki* was in origin an *n*-stem paradigm; the question then arises, how the basic stem forms have come into being and what they represent in historical terms. B *ārkwī* and A *ārki* have been correctly identified etymologically as related to Skt. *ārjuna-* 'white, light', Gk. *ἄργος* 'white; swift', etc., to the IE root *\*H<sub>2</sub>erǵ-* 'white, shining, glistening' (so already Meillet 1911a: 149). Furthermore, the *-w-* of B *ārkwī* has been seen as reflecting an *u*-stem suffix as surmised in Skt. *ārjuna-*, Gk. *ἄργυρος* 'glistening, shining', and, indeed, made likely by the Caland system of suffixation found with this root. No satisfactory explanation of the final *-i* has been given, however. The only coherent one is that of Winter (1968: 62sq. = 1984: 281sq.) who proposes an original final diphthong *\*.ois*. I would rather propose that an original *u*-stem *\*H<sub>2</sub>erǵu-* in the prevocalic form *\*H<sub>2</sub>erǵu-* has been extended by the suffix *\*-ion-/ \*-ien-*. Or, to put it more precisely, IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>erǵu-* was extended by a suffixal *\*-iHo-* that in turn was extended by an (individualizing) *n*-suffix. The nom.sg. masc. was *\*H<sub>2</sub>erǵu-iHō* > *\*H<sub>2</sub>erǵu-ijō* without a nasal (as BA *ku* 'dog' must reflect IE *\*kuyō* as against the mass of Tocharian *n*-stems in Toch. *-o* from IE *\*-ōn*). This form regularly yielded CT *\*ārkwāyu* > *\*ārkwiyu* > *\*ārkwiyā* > *\*ārkwiy* > B *ārkwī*, A *ārki*. In the same manner the acc.sg. IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>erǵu-ijen-* resulted in CT *\*ārkwiyän(ām)* > B *arkwiṃ*, and the plural would also be regular: *\*H<sub>2</sub>erǵu-ijen-esl-ns* > CT *\*ārkwiyāñāl-änäns* > B *\*arkwiñ/arkwinām*. For the feminine forms one must assume that a new Tocharian zero grade was formed to the masc. *n*-stem, i.e. an (as if) IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>erǵu-in-iH<sub>2</sub>* (for expected *\*H<sub>2</sub>erǵu-iHn-iH<sub>2</sub>* ?) resulted in CT *\*ārkwāñyā* > *\*ārkwāññā* > B *arkwañña*, A *ārkim*. See also B *erkent-* 'black' (A *arkant-*), A *ārśo* 'today', A *arkäts* '?'.

B *arśakärśa* 'bat' or '(Germ.) Spitzmaus' is a compound of *arśa-* and *-kärśa*. For a discussion, see B *-kärśa*.

A *ārso* (adv.) 'today' is also found extended by the particles *-k*, i.e. *ārsoḱ*, and *aśśi*, i.e. *ārsośśi*. Its formation is unclear, but it is tempting to see in its final the same reflex as in A *parno* 'glorious', *tālo* 'miserable', *waco* 'fighter', etc. That is, one might like to define *-o* as reflecting CT *\*-Vwā* from (as if) IE *\*-V- $\mu$ nt-s*. Should that be correct, the *\*-V-* must have been IE *\*-ē-* (unless we have here *\*-jo-*). Rather than accepting Van Windekens' suggestion (1976: 168, originally 1964b: 611) that *ārso* is a compound of *\*ārc* (cf. Gk. *ἄρτι* 'just so, precisely') + *\*śo* 'day' from *\*kēuos* (for which he refers to A *klyomśo* 'dignity' as a parallel, but this is a ghost-word, see s.v.), a proposal that is wrought with unsolved difficulties, one would prefer Pedersen's association (1951: 6) with A *ārki* 'white'. One might then see *ārso* as reflecting CT *\*ārsawā*, formed with *\*-wā* from IE *\*- $\mu$ nt-s* to a Tocharian *\*ārsæ* that could be interpreted as a class V,2 noun of the type B *meñe*, A *mañ* 'moon'. The nouns of this type are in Tocharian *n*-stems, and may historically reflect IE *n*-stems in many cases (nom.sg. *\*-ēn*). In other cases – and B *meñe*, A *mañ* is a case in point – they may reflect IE *s*-stems with nom.sg. in *\*-ēs* (whether that vocalism is original or generalized). CT *\*ārsæ* might represent one of such *s*-stems, and therefore derive from (as if) IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>erg-ēs* that could have had the meaning 'the time characterized by brightness'. For a parallel formation, cf. Av. *arəzah-* 'afternoon and evening'; furthermore, Gk. *ἐν-απῆς* 'clear'. See also B *ārkwī* 'white' (A *ārki*), B *erkent-* 'black' (A *arkent-*), A *arkäts\** '?

B *arşäklo* (f.), A *ārşal* (f.) '(venomous) snake' is a noun of class VI,3a (B obl. *arşäklai*, B obl.pl. *arşäkläṃ*, A *ārşlās\**). Exocentric adj. B *arşäklatsse\** (hapax) 'snake-infested' and possessive adj. (class II,5) A *ārşlum\** (hapax) 'having snakes'. Presumably, A *ārşal* has lost a *-k-* vis-à-vis B *arşäklo*, for which one might point to A *lutk-*, *lotk-* 'to turn' as against B *klutk-*, *klautk-* 'id.'. This appears to be only a sporadic change in East Tocharian though, for *kl-* and *-kl-* are preserved as such in many words. For CT one may posit *\*arşäklo*. The etymology is disputed. Van Windekens' interpretation of this word (1976: 623) as a compound with the second member B *-klo* related to B *kl(y)īye* 'woman' is clearly erroneous; the first member he takes as an Iranian loan (*\*ārşā* '[Fr.] malveillance'). Isebaert (1980: 195) suggests an indigenous formation (CT *\*ārşā/\*ērşā* 'bite, sting' from IE *\*ors-q- $\dot{\text{y}}$ ālā* plus, on the one hand for A, suffixation with *\*-lo-/\*-lā-*, and, on the other hand for B, a compound with *\*q<sub>e</sub>l-ā/ō(n)* 'carrying'.

Pedersen (1943: 17-18; followed by Poucha 1955: 26) suggested derivation from the IE root *\*er-s-* 'to move' with reference to Arm. *eral* '(It.) bulicare di vermi', *zeṛun* 'reptile, serpent'. This is perhaps the most tempting association, but the details remain obscure. Perhaps one might propose an association with Skt. *rāsa-* 'juice', *rasā* 'humidity, wetness', Lat. *rōs* 'dew', and reconstruct an IE *\*H<sub>1</sub>fs-iH<sub>2</sub>* '(venomous) juice, poison' compounded with a derivative of the root *\*kelH<sub>3</sub>-* as found in B and A *kāl-* 'to bring, lead; carry', i.e. (as if) IE *\*k<sub>l</sub>H<sub>3</sub>-ōn*. The (quasi-)preform *\*H<sub>1</sub>fsiH<sub>2</sub>-k<sub>l</sub>H<sub>3</sub>ōn* 'one who carries poison' would yield CT *\*ærşyākālo* > *\*ærşşākālo* > *\*ærşākālo* > *\*ārşākālo* (*ā*-umlaut) > B *arşäklo*, A *\*ārşäklo* > *\*ārşālo* > *ārşal*. Uncertain.

A *ārt* (m.) 'suitor, pretendant' is a thematic noun of class V,1 (nom.pl. *ārtañ*, gen. *ārtaśśi*). This word is clearly to be associated with the verb A *ārt-* and B *ārtt-* 'to hold dear, rejoice in; praise' and could be seen as deverbatively formed, cf. A *klānk* 'vehicle' to the verb A *klānk-* 'to ride, travel by a vehicle'. In that case, A *ārt* would presumably have to be seen as a rather late Tocharian formation, because deverbative abstracts and agentive nouns of this type generally have the Tocharian equivalent of an IE *o*-vocalism, cf. again A *klānk-* to the verb *klānk-*. Alternatively, A *ārt* might be an old formation (from IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>er-to-*) to which the denominative verb A *ārt-* and B *ārtt-* was formed. See also B *ārtt-* 'to hold dear, rejoice in; praise' (A *ārt-*), B *ārtte* 'care, attention' (A *ārtak*), A *ārtäntsā* '?', B *arisa* 'by, (Skt.) anu-' (A *ārts*), B *ārwer* 'ready' (A *ārwar*), B *arwäre* 'ready, eager, quick'.

A *ārtäntsā* (perl.pl. f.) '?' is a hapax of 52 a5 III *špālmeṃ krant āštraṃ ārtäntsā psāmār pkāmā(r)* 'through excellent good pure *ārtänt* collect [and] bring ...'. A *ārtänt\** seems to be the plural to a singular *ārt\**. It appears not unlikely in this context that this noun might have something to do with the verb A *ārt-* 'to hold dear, rejoice in; praise', possibly meaning 'praises', *vel sim*. However, nothing definitive can be said at present. See also B *ārtt-* 'to hold dear, rejoice in; praise' (A *ārt-*), B *ārtte* 'care, attention' (A *ārtak*), A *ārt* 'suitor', B *arisa* 'by, (Skt.) anu-' (A *ārts*), B *ārwer* 'ready' (A *ārwar*), B *arwäre* 'ready, eager, quick'.

B *artkye* (adv.) 'luxurious, abundant, (Skt.) prabhūta' is a hapax of Lévi K 10 a3 (for the emendations to Lévi's original reading, see Sieg 1938: 45) *mā cpī taurā mā tweye kektseñāśc mā wa* (for *mā wat*) *tswetār nta : wāssanma špā ar[t]kye māskentār-ne* 'his is not dust [and] not dirt, nor does it cling to [his] body. And his clothes

are luxurious'. Formally, B *artkye* (a verse form for prose *artkiye\**) is presumably an adverbialized adjective, and one might perhaps reckon with an underlying verbal stem *\*ārtk-*. However, from the single occurrence of this word it is difficult to determine its precise meaning. While 'luxurious' might be the correct translation, one might also suggest 'of good quality' or even 'well fitting', *vel sim.* Any etymological evaluation is therefore inadvisable at present.

B *artsa* (adv.), A *ārts* (adv.) 'by, (Skt.) anu-' is used in a distributive sense with nouns denoting periods of time, viz. B *artsa kauṃ*, A *ārts kom* '(day) by day, (Skt.) anvaham', B *artsa ywarcameñ* '(fortnight) by fortnight, (Skt.) anvardhamāsam'. It is debatable whether B *artsa* and A *ārts* are to be seen as the first part of compounds; this is expressly denied by Couvreur (1954b: 82), and, indeed, the accentuation of *artsa ywarcameñ* indicates that *ywarcameñ* is a compound with regular accent on the last syllable of the first element and, therefore, that *artsa* is not a compound member. Moreover, since B *artsa* can hardly have final accentuation (*\*ārtsā* ??) and initial accent is excluded, one must conclude that it is unaccented, i.e. that it is a proclitic element. This implies reconstructing for B *artsa* and A *ārts* a CT preform *\*ārtsā*. Van Windekens (1964a: 232, 1976: 169) is presumably right in associating this word with the IE root *\*ar-*, i.e. *\*H<sub>2</sub>er-* 'to fix, adjust, adjoin', and in particular Gk. ἄρτι 'just, precisely', ἄρτιος 'well adjusted, exactly suited'. The part CT *\*ārts-* would reflect IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>ertj-* regularly, but the final *\*-ā* is more problematical. It is hardly to be seen as the Tocharian perlativ ending *-ā*, because the singular form would have been B (unaccented) *\*arcsa*, A *\*ārc*, and the plural form would have been B (unaccented) *\*artānsa*. It seems preferable to suggest here an archaism, a preservation of an old IE case form, an instrumental *\*H<sub>2</sub>ertj-eH<sub>i</sub>* > CT *\*ārtsā*, assuming that IE *\*-ē* (*\*-eH<sub>i</sub>*) in absolute final position resulted in CT *\*-ā*, cf. the development of the monosyllable IE *\*mē* to CT *\*mā*. B *artsa*, A *ārts*, would thus have had the original meaning 'by adjoining', *vel sim.* See also B *ārtt-* 'to hold dear, rejoice in; praise' (A *ārt-*), B *ārte* 'care, attention' (A *ārtak*), A *ārt* 'suitor', B *ārwer* 'ready' (A *ārwar*), B *arwäre* 'ready, eager, quick'.

B *ārtt-* 'to hold dear, rejoice in; praise' (pres. IV [3sg. med.] *orttotār*, pres. IX [1sg. med.] *artaskemar*, [3sg. med.] *arttastār*, [ptc. med.] *(a)rtaskemane*, subj. V [3pl. med.] *ārtantār* (PK 13. 8 b9), [opt. 1sg. med.] *ārttoyamar*, [abstr.] *ārttalñe*, pret. Ibβ [3pl.

med.] *arttānte*, [ptc.] *ārttau*), A *ārt-* 'id.' (pres. IV [2sg. med.] *artār*, subj. V [3pl. med.] *ārtantrā*, [opt. 1sg. med.] *ārtimar*, [abstr.] *ārtlune*, [imp. 2sg. med.] *pārtār*, pret. Ib [3sg. med.] *ārtat*, [ptc.] *ārtu\**). The handbooks take the West Tocharian pres. IX formation to be a causative beside the usual non-causative pres. IV; thus also K.T. Schmidt (1969: 394), who posits the meaning "anerkennen" for the 'causative'. This is hardly correct, though, because in all its three occurrences, the pres. IX stem shows the formal characteristics of a non-causative, namely, second syllable accentuation. These forms are found in central (44 Š a1 *artaskemar*, 23 Š b8 *(a)[rta]sk[e]māne*) and eastern (108 S a6 *arttastār*) texts; the form *(a)[rta]sk[e]māne* is in text editions and handbooks given with an initial *(ā-)* (so Thomas 1969: 310), but it seems safe to assume, on the basis of the two other pres. IX forms, that the initial should be reconstructed as an unaccented *(a-)* (so indeed Thomas 1983: 184). As for K.T. Schmidt's translation with "anerkennen", it seems possible for 44 Š a1 and 108 S a6, but impossible for 23 Š b8, where we have a rendering of Skt. *anumodamānaḥ* 'rejoicing in'. As the other two occurrences also yield to a translation with 'to praise' or 'to rejoice in', there cannot be said to be any noticeable difference in the meaning of the present IV and IX stems. The East Tocharian pres. IV [2sg. med.] *artār* has regularly syncopated the internal *-a-*. The handbooks then expect *arttār\** and view the attested *artār* as an example of erroneous spelling. However, depending on the chronology of the East Tocharian degemination and the syncope processes, it is possible that *artār* is a regular form. All attested geminates in East Tocharian are the result of a late post-apocope assimilation of *C + y*. Conversely, the form A 60 b5 [3sg. med.] *artār* must be erroneous for *artatār\**; syncope does not take place in the 3sg. of pres. class IV. As degemination is regular in East Tocharian, A *ārt-* equals B *ārtt-* perfectly. Generally, B *-tt-* in verbal roots is the outcome of assimilated *-tw-*, which, however, is equally regularly preserved in the corresponding A verb (e.g. B *spārtt-* vs. A *spārtw-* 'to turn'). The equation B *ārtt-* = A *ārt-* necessitates excluding an underlying CT *\*ārtw-* and positing instead a CT *\*ārtt-*. The geminate – since it cannot reflect *-tw-* – presumably indicates an originally denominative derivation from a formation with suffixal *\*-to-*; suffixal gemination is a well-known phenomenon in Tocharian, frequently conditioned by preceding accent (but sometimes by assimilation). The occasional degemination in West Tocharian is a frequently encountered feature, possibly only graphic, cf. also *-ts-* for *-tsts-*, *-s-* for *-ss-*,

etc. Note that B *ārtt-* has initial accent in its subj. V formation, which is unusual for an exclusively medially conjugated verb (cf. discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 24). One might then – as a basis for the CT verbal root *\*ārtt-* – posit an IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>ér-to-* ‘fixation, attention, care’ (possibly a *vrddhi*-formation to an underlying participial *\*H<sub>2</sub>l-tó-* ‘fixed, adjoined’) to the root *\*H<sub>2</sub>er-* ‘to fix, adjoin’, and assume that the accentuation of the basic noun was carried over to the verbal derivative. Such a basic noun might be seen as preserved in B *ārtte*, A *ārtak* ‘care, attention’ (q.v.). Or it is possible that IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>ér-to-*, yielding CT *\*ārttæ*, had an agentive meaning, ‘one who is fixed on something, one who attends to, one who cares’, that could be preserved in A *ārt* ‘suitor, pretendant’ (q.v.). In both cases, though, it might also be argued that these nouns are deverbatively formed abstract/agentive nouns to *\*ārtt-*. The original association of B *ārtt-* and A *ārt-* with the IE root *\*H<sub>2</sub>er-* ‘to fix, adjoin, adjust’ was made by Van Windekens (1976: 168), although differing in all respects from the presentation here. For the semantic development of the Tocharian verb, cf. Gk. *ἔπεισκει μοι* ‘it fits, pleases me’. See also B *ārtte* ‘care, attention’ (A *ārtak*), A *ārt* ‘suitor’, A *ārtāntsā* ‘?’, B *artsa* ‘by, (Skt.) anu-’ (A *ārts*), B *ārwer* ‘ready’ (A *ārwar*), B *arwāre* ‘ready, eager, quick’.

B *ārtte* (gender unknown), A *ārtak* (gender unknown) ‘care, attention’ is a noun (in East Tocharian extended with an enclitic *-k*, causing the retention of the original final vowel) that is found only in collocation with the verb B and A *tārk-* ‘to let, let go, allow’; B *ārtte tārk-* and A *ārtak tārk-* then mean ‘to leave unattended, neglect, (Skt.) upekṣ-, (lit.) to let slip one’s care for something’. A (sporadically) degeminated B *ārte* occurs beside regular *ārtte*. Couvreur’s suggestion (1955-56: 68) that A *ārtak* has the meaning “herunter” is false; also wrong is Van Windekens’ interpretation (1976: 169), who suggests etymological connection with the verb B and A *ār-* ‘to cease’; furthermore, his locution *lānk- ārtak* ‘to let hang in an indifferent manner’, in spite of Sieg & Siegling & Schulze (1931: 298), is non-existent: the text in question is to be read (8 a5) *lānmām tsarām peyu ārtak (tārkont) kāts yo*, cf. Sieg 1944: 11 n.9. As B *ārtte (ārte)*, A *ārtak* can be understood as having the basic meaning ‘care, attention’, these words can be satisfactorily associated with the verb B *ārtt-*, A *ārt-* ‘to hold dear, rejoice in; praise’ in its meaning ‘to hold dear, care for’. Presumably, B *ārtte* and A *ārtak* reflect a thematic abstract noun from CT *\*ārttæ* that could be a regularly formed deverba-

tive abstract to the verb just mentioned, in which case the formation would be a late and Tocharian one, for original deverbative abstracts always have (IE) *o*-vocalism of the root, i.e. one might have expected B *\*ertte*, A *\*art* from CT *\*ārttæ* < IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>orto-*. Or, conversely, CT *\*ārttæ* might be an old formation from IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>er-to-*, in which case it may have served as the basis from which the denominative verb B *ārtt-*, A *ārt-*, was drawn. See also B *ārtt-* ‘to hold dear, rejoice in; praise’ (A *ārt-*), A *ārt* ‘suitor’, A *ārtāntsā* ‘?’, B *artsa* ‘by, (Skt.) anu-’ (A *ārts*), B *ārwer* ‘ready’ (A *ārwar*), B *arwāre* ‘ready, eager, quick’.

B *arwāre* (adj. and adv.) ‘ready, eager, willing, quick’ is an adj. of class I,2 (obl.pl. m. *arwārem*), but once it is clearly used adverbially (42 Š b5 *laute ka kalloy sāv weṣyetsai kotaiśc om kaṭoytr arwāre* : ‘[If] only she would get an opportunity [to get] to a cesspool, she would quickly (or eagerly) spread [the muck] over herself there ...’). This word is usually considered synonymous with B *ārwer* ‘ready, prepared’, but that is not entirely clear. One might perhaps see the meaning as more in the direction of ‘eager, willing’ and even ‘quick’, cf. 409 MQ b1 *a(r)w[ā]rem krentām yakwempa* ‘with eager good horses’. Thomas & Krause (1964: 164) also give the meaning “edel” in the sense of Skt. *ājāneya-*. The text in question is 310 Š a6 where the matter of taming horses is treated and */// - - - arwārem* is all that is left of a rendering of Skt. *ājāneyam ca saindhavam* (Uv. 19.7). Sieg & Siegling (1953: 199 n.4) comment that “Die Übersetzung stimmt nicht zu dem überlieferten Sanskrittext”. It appears that Skt. *ājāneya-* is used in the sense ‘fullblood’ (of horses, elephants, etc.), ‘of noble race’; it seems possible that B *arwāre* is an inexact rendering through ‘willing, eager’ of Skt. *ājāneya-* ‘fullblood’. Other attested instances of B *arwāre* throw even less light on the meaning of this word. Etymologically, B *arwāre* is traditionally associated with B *ārwer*, A *ārwar* ‘ready, prepared’ and the IE root *\*H<sub>2</sub>er-* ‘to fix, adjust, adjoin’ (originally Van Windekens 1941: 14). Apart from the semantic problems outlined above, there are problems of word formation to be coped with, if that association is to be maintained. While B *ārwer*, A *ārwar*, from CT *\*ārwar*, would reflect IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>er-*uor**, B *arwāre* from CT *\*ārwaræ* would have to reflect (as if) IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>er-*uōr-o-**, a thematization of a stem form *\*H<sub>2</sub>er-*uōr**. The suffix alternation *\*-uōr ~ \*-uor* might indicate an originally ablauting paradigm in nom.sg. *\*-uōr*, acc.sg. *\*-uor-m*. While one may not deny that such an analysis is possible, the formation of the thematic form *arwāre* seems somewhat *ad hoc*. Note that



words going back to IE stems in *\*-r* appear not to have been thematized. If they are extended at all, it is by Toch. *-iye*, *-iyā*, cf. B *šñor* 'sinew', *ñor* 'below', *kroriya\** 'horn of the moon', *pyorye* 'yoke', etc. Perhaps the process was different with adjectives, but there are no parallels; note B *krāmār* 'weight' with the adj. B *kramartstse\**, A *krāmārts* 'heavy'. Bearing in mind all this, one might wonder whether the etymology of B *arwāre* has not been incorrectly determined. If B *arwāre* is seen as a normal adj. in suffixal *\*-ro-*, one would expect zero grade of the root. One might then perhaps suggest IE *\*H<sub>1</sub>reu-* : *\*H<sub>1</sub>ru-* 'to hurry, be eager', cf. Skt. *ārvant-* 'hurrying, runner', Av. *aurvant-* 'quick, brave', etc. Many verbal *aniṣ-* roots are treated as *seṭ-* roots in Tocharian (but not the other way around!); one might therefore suggest an (as if) IE *\*H<sub>1</sub>ruH-* yielding Toch. *\*ærwā-*, which in turn produced the adj. *arwāre*, cf. B *asāre* 'dry' to the verbal stem *\*āsā-* to an original *aniṣ-* root *\*H<sub>2</sub>es-* 'to be dry'. This analysis is, of course, to some extent speculative. See also B *ārtt-* 'to hold dear, rejoice in; praise' (A *ārt-*), A *ārt* 'suitor', A *ārtāntsā* '?', B *artsa* 'by, (Skt.) anu-' (A *ārts*), B *ārwer* 'ready' (A *ārwar*).

- B *ārwer* (adv.), A *ārwar* (adv.) 'ready, prepared' is presumably a substantive originally that in both languages is used adverbially with various verbs. Thus B *ārwer yām-*, A *ārwar yām-* 'to make ready, prepare', B *ārwer nes-/tāk-*, A *ārwar nas-/tāk-* 'to be ready'. Also in PK 12 H b2 *arwer se ñāke kanthāke yākwē* 'the horse K. is now ready' (Thomas 1979: 47) can B *arwer* (for standard *ārwer*) be seen as constructed with the verb 'to do' or 'to make'. In East Tocharian, *ārwar* is attested with further verbs, viz. *ārwar i-* 'to go readily', *ārwar pyutk-* 'to come ready into being'; note A 74 a2 *neñc retwe-ārwar* 'they are ready for joining'. A 395 b4 *ārwar tākā* is presumably an error for *ārwar tākā*. For CT one may reconstruct *\*ārwar*. Etymologically, this word has been correctly associated with the IE root *\*H<sub>2</sub>er-* 'to fix, adjust, adjoin' (originally Van Windekens 1941: 14). B *ārwer* and A *ārwar* from CT *\*ārwar* bear witness to a suffixation with *\*-uor* (not *\*-uēr* which would have produced a palatalized labial), cf. also B *malkwer* 'milk' and possibly B *kāstuwēr\** 'night'. It is usually assumed that B *ārwer* and A *ārwar* are closely related to (the synonymous?) B *arwāre*. This is possible, but there are problems, see s.v. See also B *ārtt-* 'to hold dear, rejoice in; praise' (A *ārt-*), A *ārt* 'suitor', A *ārtāntsā* '?', B *artsa* 'by, (Skt.) anu-' (A *ārts*), B *arwāre* 'ready, eager, quick'.

- A *aśsi* (adv.) 'indeed' is an enclitic particle, mostly – but not exclusively – interrogative. Its formation is not quite clear, but it seems likely that Pedersen (1941: 237) is right in seeing here the particle A *ats* 'indeed, verily' extended with some element that has caused secondary palatalization of the *-ts-*. A *ats* reflects earlier *\*a-tsā* (cf. B *tsa* [enclitic particle]). One might suggest that the enclitic element *\*yā* has been added to the apocopated *ats* yielding A *\*aśsyā* > *aśsi*, cf. the parallel B *attsi\** from CT *\*āt-tsā-yā* from earlier *\*āt+tsā+yā*. See also A *ats* 'verily, indeed'.
- B *atākatte* (adj.) 'untrue, unfounded, (skt.) abhūta' is a privative formation to B *\*tākā-*, the suppletive subj. V stem to the verb B *nes-* 'to be', [q.v.] reflecting CT *\*æn-tākāttae*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 36sq.
- B *atameṃ* (adv.) '?' is attested three times but its meaning cannot be posited with certainty. As it could be etymologically cognate with B *ate* 'away, off' and seems to be formed in the same manner as B *kātameṃ* 'from where', one might tentatively posit the meaning 'away from here/there', *vel sim*. Such a translation might fit in 330 S a3 (*wayau*) *cai mā kallam tātū ytarimeṃ parna lantsi atameṃ mā cam[pā]m* 'he obtains not a guide [and] he cannot depart from the road away from here(?)'. Further occurrences are in 331 S b5 (*yāmtsi atameṃ* 'put away(?)') and H 150 119 a1 (*nesi* [= *nestsi*] *atameṃ* 'to be away(?)'). The CT preform was *\*ātā-*, which might be understood as equivalent to the shortened B *at* alternating with regular B *ate* 'away'. There seems no reason to assume with Sieg & Siegling (1953: 213 n.3, 215 n.8) that *atameṃ* is a wrong spelling for *añmameṃ*. See also B *ate* 'away, off', B *attsaik* 'verily' (A *ātsek*), B *attsi\** 'indeed'.
- B *atāmo* (gender unknown) 'barren ground(?)' is a hapax of Lévi K 8 b2 *ket ra yše(lme ... ) t(unts)e ša(rmtsa) atāmo taur tweye māsketrā pākri*. On the basis of a partly parallel Tibetan version of this text, Sieg (1938: 37) translates: "(Wenn) von wem auch immer Lie(besfrevel begangen wird), erscheint auf Grund dessen unfruchtbarer Boden (? so nach dem Tib. ... für *atāmo*), Sand und Staub". According to Sieg, the Tibetan version has: "... les croûtes salines du sol et la poussière ...". Evidently, the translation with 'barren ground' cannot be considered quite certain. This word has the appearance of being a feminine of class VI,2 (type B *swāñco* 'ray', obl. *swāñcai*) or class VI,3b (type B *kātso* 'stomach', obl. *kātsa*). Van Windekens (1976: 152) proposes to see in *atāmo* a formation with the negative prefix followed by a



derivative of the verbal root B *tām-* 'to be born', causative 'to engender'. However, the paradigms of *tām-* in West (and in East) Tocharian do not exhibit a stem form with *ā*-vocalism on which a derivative *atāmo* might have been based. Therefore, it would seem necessary to assume that B *atāmo* has an original (that is, a non-umlauted) *ā*-vocalism. Two different solutions then come to mind. First, one might see here a derivative of the IE root *\*deH<sub>2</sub>i-* 'to divide, allot, give' and reconstruct an (as if) IE *\*ḡ-dH<sub>2</sub>-mōn* 'the unyielding one' (= 'barren earth'), cf. Gk. *δῆμος* (Dor. *δᾶμος*) 'land; people' from *\*deH<sub>2</sub>-mo-s*. An IE *\*ḡ-dH<sub>2</sub>-mōn* would regularly yield CT *\*æn-dāmo* > B *\*ātāmo* > *atāmo*. One might, however, prefer a second alternative, namely, seeing in B *atāmo* a substantivized verbal adjective in *-mo* to a subj. V *\*ātā-* of an unattested verb *\*āt-* 'to be dry, parched', cf. Hitt. *ḫat-* 'to dry up, become parched', *ḫatantiya-* 'dry land, dry soil', Gk. *ἄζω* 'I cause to dry up', to an IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>ed-* 'to be dry'. See also B *atiya\** 'grass' (A *āti*).

B *atāne\** (gender unknown) '?' is attested twice, viz. H 149. 40 a5 *llrene atāne yamašarene pelene šalārene* 'they put ... on his *atāne* [and] threw him in jail', and PK 12 I b6 *atānesa wārñai sāmāñmāsa kekisenne šesānmusa* 'the body bound with fetters on the *atāne*, etc.'. Unfortunately, the meaning of *atāne* cannot be gathered with certainty. Isebaert (1980: 152 n.1) suggests 'fetters', but this is decisively dismissed by Thomas (1985: 122), who also rejects Adams' interpretation (1983a: 612 n.4) of *atāne* as a dual to a singular *\*āto* 'wrist'; indeed, one would *a priori* expect a dual *\*ataine* to such a singular form. While Adams' suggestion is attractive semantically, it is too uncertain to warrant etymological speculation.

A *atas* (postpos. or adv.) 'out of, away, off, (Skt.) *apa*(?)' is a *hapax* attested in 8 a5 *yošmoš ywont lymenyo šunkāšš atas ymām* 'with the lips twisted forwards, going away from the throat'. The translation with 'away from' is not certain, and is probably prompted by the "Gleichklang" with B *ate* 'away, from'. However, B *ate* reflects CT *\*ātæ* and is incompatible with A *atas* as far as the vocalism goes. Instead of A *atas* being a postposition governing the ablative *šunkāšš*, it might be an adverb modifying the verb *ymām* and that combination might then mean 'going forth', 'going askew', *vel sim*. Evidently, no etymology can be hazarded here.

B *ate* (adv.) 'away, off' is frequently attested. A few times it is found doubled *atāte*, and once (220 MQ b2) shortened to *at* (cf. such a shortening in *omp* 'there' as against *ompek*, or *ket* 'whose' vs. *kete*). The form *attai* of 240 MQ a5 is presumably incorrect for *ate*. Note the expression *ate ra tsa* 'wherever'. B *até* reflects CT *\*ātæ* and is therefore either unrelated or not directly comparable to A *atas* 'from, out of(?)', *q.v.* CT *\*ātæ* reflects IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>et-os* or *\*H<sub>2</sub>et-om*, and may be compared with Lat. *at* 'but' (< *\*H<sub>2</sub>et-i*), OCS *otū* 'away, out' (< *\*H<sub>2</sub>et-os/m*), etc. See also B *atameñ* '?', B *attsaik* 'verily' (A *ättsek*), B *attsi\** 'indeed'.

B *atiya\** [or *atiyo\**] (gender unknown), A *āti* (f.) 'grass' is a noun of class VI.3a (B obl. *atīyai*, pl. *atīyāñ*, obl. *atīyañ\**, A pl. *ātīyāñ\**, obl. *ātīyās*). West Tocharian forms with *-iy-* are generally prose forms, whereas forms with *-y-* are found in verse. In A there is one instance of an endocentric adj. *ātīyāši\** 'pertaining to grass'. The CT preform was *\*ātīyā* rather than *\*ātīyo*, if one is to take account of A *atīyāši\**. As suggested by Lane (1938: 25 n.21), this word is probably cognate with Lat. *ador* 'spelt, emmer wheat', Goth. *atisk* 'field of grain'. One might posit an IE *s*-stem *\*H<sub>2</sub>ed-ōs* (Lat. *ador*) to the root *\*H<sub>2</sub>ed-* 'to be dry' that in Tocharian yielded *\*ātu* > *\*ātā* and was then secondarily extended by the suffix *\*(i)yā*, producing CT *\*ātā(i)yā* > *\*ātīyā* > B *atiya\**, A *āti*. A borrowing from Turk. *ot* 'grass' seems phonologically excluded (Pedersen 1941: 64 n.1, Van Windekens 1976: 624). See also B *atāmo* 'barren ground(?)'. [Unfinished. Reference given to Isebaert 1978: 97.]

B *atkwāl* (adv.[?]) '?' is a *hapax* of 282 MQ a4 *šaišše se klešanmaššai wāmyu rāskre kāsawasā : ankain placsa sewitrā atkwāl špā . pelaiknešše sāmīk=ai* III. This passage is not easy to translate, because it contains three unclear *hapax legomena*, viz. *wāmyu* 'sunk into(?)', *sewitrā* 'was pained(?)', *suffered(?)*, *mutilated(?)*, and *atkwāl*. It seems likely that this last word is an adverb, but its meaning cannot be guessed. The whole might be tentatively rendered: 'this world is covered(?) by the rough leprosy of *kleša*'s, and it has been severely(?) pained(?) by false speech; the medicine of the Law (will) giv(e) ...'. At present no etymology can be ventured.

A *ats* (adv.) 'verily, indeed, (Skt.) *eva*' is an emphatic particle. It is always enclitic, and the final consonant of the preceding word is usually doubled before it, e.g. *kuss ats*, *tmäkk ats*, *šakk ats*, etc. The *a-* of A *ats* prohibits direct comparison with B *ate* 'away,

off', or B *attsai*k, A *ättsek* 'verily, indeed' that have initial \**ā*-. It seems likely that A *ats* contains the pronominal stem IE \**o*- (the alternant of \**e*-) that resulted in CT \**æ*- > A *a*-, and that this stem has been extended with \**tsā* (cf. B *tsa* [an emphatic particle]). CT \**æ*+*tsā* would regularly yield A *ats* and the lack of *ā*-umlaut might be seen as due to a late merger of the two enclitics. The extended A *atsek* 'verily, indeed' has received a further addition of \**yā+kā* and thus reflects \**a+tsā+yā+kā*, a conglomerate of particles parallel to B *attsai*k, A *ättsek* (q.v.), from \**āt+tsā+yā+kā*. Also A *atsam* (with the variants *asam* and *asa* occurring once each) reflects earlier A \**a+tsā* provided with the locative marker -*m* < CT \**-næ*.

A *atsam* 'verily, indeed' (also *asam*, *asa*), see A *ats* 'verily, indeed'.

A *atsek* 'verily, indeed', see A *ats* 'verily, indeed'.

B *ātstse* (adj.), A *ātsāts* (adj.) 'compact, close, thick, (Skt.) kalila', B *ātstse* (presumably n.) 'oppressiveness, dizziness, (Skt.) kalilam'. In West Tocharian variant spellings occur: -*ts*-, -*tts*-, beside regular -*tsts*-. The adj. A *ātsāts* is indeclinable, while the adj. B *ātstse* inflects like a normal adjective in -*tsts*-, viz. obl.sg. m. *ācce*, obl.sg. f. *ātstsa*, nom./obl.pl. f. *atstsāna*. The subj. B *ātstse* is presumably a neuter in view of the nom.pl. (class III, 1) *atstsenta* (Lévi K 8 b5); as for the formation, it is simply a substantivization of the adjective. The basic meaning of these words may be 'tight, placed close up to'. The adjective is frequently used with words meaning hair (B *matsi*, A *śāku*, *yok*), eyelashes (A *pātrū*), flowers (B 237 MQ a1 *pyapyaints ācce cāñcarñesa* 'with the compact loveliness of flowers', A *oplās* [obl.pl.] 'lotuses'). Note the West Tocharian construction with a noun in the comitative case + *šesa* ('together with') + *ātstse*, which probably has the meaning 'close together with (+ noun)'. Uncertain is the translation of *āttsāna* ('thicketed' or 'close by' [?]) in B 338 MQ a1, cf. discussion in Hilmarsson 1990: 100sq. Etymologically, these words have remained unexplained. Van Windekens (1976: 172) is clearly off the rail in assuming that *ā*- here reflects the negative prefix, for the conditioning factor for an *ā*-colouring of the prefix is lacking. Isebaert (1980: 153) suggests a derivation from an IE \**ad-to*-, a participle to the root \**ad*- 'to order, decide', but this is not very convincing semantically; besides, IE \**ad-to*- would presumably yield CT \**āstæ* (although \**ad-tjo*- [with \**-tjo*- as so often replacing earlier \**-to*-] might have yielded CT \**āstisæ*). It is perhaps better to associate the *ā*- of B *ātstse* and

A *ātsāts* with the prefixal *ā*- of B and A *ākl*- 'to learn' (\**ā*-*klā*- from IE \**klu*- 'hear'), B *akarite* 'near to', and the perlativ marker CT \**-ā* (A *-ā*, but B \**-sā* has -*s*- from the obl.pl. ending, cf. Gippert 1987: 32). Assuming the use of \**ā* as a perlativ marker implies an earlier postposition and, therefore, an earlier independent use of \**ā*, it is possible to see in B *ātstse* and A *ātsāts* an adjectival formation in -*tsts*- to that base. The insertion of an anaptyctic -*ā*- in A *ātsāts*, instead of a simplification of the geminate as in other instances of this suffix in East Tocharian, can be seen as due to the monosyllabic structure of the radical element, i.e. instead of \**āstis* > \**āts* we get \**āstis* > *ātsāts*. See also B *-ā*\* (perlativ marker) (A *-ā*), B *ākl*- 'to learn' (A *ākl*-), B *akarite* 'near to'.

B *attsai*k (adv.), A *ättsek* (adv.) 'verily, indeed' is an emphatic particle of frequent occurrence. It is itself composed of a series of particles and reflects CT \**āt+tsā+yā+kā*, cf. B *tsa* (enclitic emphatic particle), and B *yak*, *yaka*, *ykāk* 'still, yet'. For \**āt*, see B *ate* 'away, off', B *atamem* '?', B *attsi*\* 'indeed'.

B *attsi*\* 'indeed' is found only in combination with *kā* 'why', i.e. *kātsi* (interrog. adv.) 'why then'. It presumably contains the particle B \**āt* (see B *ate* 'away, off'), but the element -*tsi* is obscure. It seems possible though that -*tsi* shows the alternative unaccented treatment of a final diphthong that one finds in B *wi* 'two' from \**dyoiH*, or in A *ti-m* 'those two' from \**toiH*. If such a development has taken place in B *attsi*\*, this form could be comparable to B *attsai*k, A *ättsek* 'verily, indeed'. That is, as these latter forms reflect CT \**āt+tsā+yā+kā*, so B *attsi*\* would reflect CT \**āt-tsā-yā* from earlier \**āt+tsā+yā*. See also B *ate* 'away, off', B *atamem* '?', B *attsai*k 'verily' (A *ättsek*).

B *āwe* (gender unknown) '?' is a hapax of an unpublished Berlin fragment as cited by Thomas (1988: 161). Thomas cites from this fragment only the forms *āwe mācer*, and it appears that there is no further context. He suggests *āwe* here is an error for *āwi*, a gen.sg. of the type B *seyi* 'of the son', *pātri* 'of the father', etc., and, furthermore, that this word is a cognate of Lat. *avus* 'grandfather', Goth. *awo* 'grandmother', etc., reflecting IE \**ayos* (Thomas' notation). Moreover, he sees a further instance of the corrected *āwi* in 289 S b3 *šaiṣṣeny=alek yku āwi pācer saile* /// that he would emend to ... *āwi mācer* ... . Recently, however, I have argued (Hilmarsson 1991d: 71) that B *āwi* in this text is simply a borrowed Indic term (Pāli, Pkt. *āvi* 'evident, apparent')

and that this line should be translated 'in the world another reliable(?) (= *saiile*) father has come forth' (*yku āwi* = 'has appeared, become apparent'). This leaves *āwe mācer*, contextless as it is, quite isolated, and one must hesitate in interpreting it in the manner suggested by Thomas. See also A <sup>1</sup>*āp*\* 'ancestor or grandfather'.

- B *āwi* 'apparent, evident(?)' is a *hapax* of 289 S b3. See discussion of this form, which is possibly a borrowing from an Indic source (Pāli, Pkt. *āvi* 'id.'), under B *āwe* '?'.
- B *ayāmātte*\* (adj.) 'not to be done' is a privative formation to B *yāmā*-, the subj. V stem to the verb B *yām*- 'to do', [q.v.], reflecting CT *\*æn-yāmāttæ*. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 94.
- B *ayātatte*\* (adj.) 'unsubdued, untamed' is a privative formation to B *\*yātā*-, a causative subj. V stem (see discussion of this category in Hilmarsson 1991a: 48-55) to the verb B *yāt*- 'to be able, capable, suitable; caus. to make suitable, tame', [q.v.], reflecting CT *\*æn-yātāttæ*. The underlying form can be posited so, even though all attested instances of this privative have the suffixal vocalism *-ai-* and not *-a-* < *\*-ā-*; furthermore, all attested forms actually have the sequence *-aicc-*. K.T. Schmidt (1986a: 638) has noted that B *a* from *ā* sporadically appears as *ai* before a palatal sound, which he ascribes to language usage at a lower level ("Umgangssprache") than the standard written texts ("Hochsprache"). However, there are also instances of B *a* from *ā* being changed to *ai* under the same conditions, cf. B *empalkaicci* for *\*empalkacci*, *enkalpaiccets* for *enkalpaccets*, etc.; there is no etymological reason to posit an underlying suffixal *ā* in these cases, and it is, in fact, necessary to posit an unaccented *ā*. It would therefore appear that Schmidt's observation is valid for West Tocharian *a* in general, whether its origin was *\*ā* or *\*a*. Thus, B *ayātataicc-* represents *\*ayātataicc-* from CT *\*æn-yātāttacc-*. Detailed discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 58sq. See also [B *yāt*- 'to be able, capable, suitable' (A *yāt*-),] B *ayāto* 'fitting, apt, suitable' (A *āyāto*).
- B *ayāto* (adj.), A *āyāto* (adj.) 'fitting, apt, suitable, pleasant' is an indeclinable adjective in both languages. East Tocharian has a derived exocentric adj. formation in *-tsis-* underlying the possessive adj. A *āyātotsum*\* (1x), also written *āyātsosum* (3x) 'appropriate, (Skt.) *anukula*'. Used as postpositions with the genitive, one finds B *ayātoś* 'for the sake of, for the benefit of'

and A *āyātwā* 'in accordance with, following', apparently an allative and perlicative, respectively, of a substantive. It seems possible that B *ayāto* and A *āyāto* were substantives previously that came to be mainly used as *bahuvrīhi* adjectives. As A *āyāto* in all probability is a borrowing from West Tocharian (so Winter 1962a: 273, 276, *pace* Van Windekens 1968a: 412, 1976: 173), the final *-o* of this word must be interpreted on West Tocharian premisses. I have shown recently (Hilmarsson 1991a: 118sq.) that in principle the Tocharian denominative formations with the local prefix (as opposed to the negative prefix), sometimes incorrectly termed intensive prefix, constitute adverbializations and nominalizations of earlier prepositional phrases with the local preposition (→ prefix) plus a noun in an oblique case form. In my work cited, I have inadvertently left out a discussion of these words. However, B *ayāto* fits the pattern described there quite perfectly. For CT one must reconstruct *\*æn + \*yātā* 'in aptness, in suitability', a prepositional phrase with *\*yātā* being the oblique of a neuter of the type B *palsko* 'thought', etc., i.e. *\*yātā* is formed to the verb CT *\*yāt*- 'to be able, capable, suitable' (BA *yāt*-) as B *palsko* to the verb B *pālsk*- 'to think'. Thus, B *ayāto* from CT *\*æn-yātā* (with *ā*-umlaut in the prefixal syllable) is formed in exactly the same way as B *ompalsko* (360 Qu b4) 'thoughtful, in meditation' from CT *\*æn-pālskā* (showing the [sporadic?] West Tocharian rounding before the sequence *-mp-*). See [B *yāt*- 'to be able, capable, suitable' (A *yāt*-),] B *ayātatte*\* 'unsubdued, untamed'.

- B *ayāwā*\* '?' is a *hapax* of P 1 b6 // *ayāwā panit emalye warsa yokalle* 'ayāw [and?] molasses are to be drunk in hot water'. Unfortunately, the meaning and etymology of *ayāwā* are quite unclear.

## E

B *ekamütte* 'future, not arrived', see B *kām-* 'to come' (A *kum-*).

B *enaiwaññe*, see B *anaiwaññe*.

B *erkennt-* (adj.), A *arkant-* (adj.) 'black, dark' is an athematic *nt*-stem adjective of class III (B obl.sg. m. *erkennt*, gen. *erkeñcepi*, obl.pl. f. *erkenta*, A nom.pl. m. *arkaś*, obl. *arkañcās*). The A form *arkaś* shows a well-known orthographic variation and stands for *arkaśis* equalling B *erkeñc\**. One may only guess at the nom.sg. masc. form. It seems very unlikely that Krause & Thomas 1960: 155 are right in suggesting B *\*erkeñ*, A *\*arko*, on the pattern of B *perneñ*, obl. *pernent*, A *parno*, for one might then have expected an East Tocharian oblique stem in *-ont-*, not *-ant-*. Rather, B *erkennt-* and A *arkant-* are of the type B *krent*, A *krant* 'good', whose original nom.sg. masc. is preserved in the forms B *kare*, A *kār* 'good' (q.v.), almost completely supplanted by the suppletive B *kartse*, A *kāsu*. One might therefore posit a nom.sg. masc. B *erke\**, A *ark\**, reflecting CT *\*érkæ* from IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>rǵ-ont-s*, while the obl.sg. masc. B *erkennt*, A *arkant\**, reflects CT *\*ærkántä(m)* from IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>rǵ-ont-m*. Etymologically, this word has traditionally been associated with B *orkamo*, A *orkām* 'dark' and, furthermore, with Gk. *ἐρεβος* 'darkness (of the underworld)', Goth. *riqis* 'darkness', etc., cf. Van Windekens 1976: 149sq. with lit. However, as I have argued previously (Hilmarsson 1986a: 170sq. = 1989a: 104sq.), the lack of rounding in A *arkant-* (if from CT *\*ærk<sup>h</sup>ænt-* from IE *\*rǵ<sup>h</sup>-ont-*) is suspect in view of its presence in A *orkām*. I therefore suggested that B *erkennt-* and A *arkant-*, through CT *\*ærkánt-*, reflect IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>rǵ-ont-* to the root *\*H<sub>2</sub>erǵ-* 'white, glistening, silvery'. The semantic development to 'black, dark' in Tocharian would be comparable to that seen in OHG *blanc* 'glistening white' as against ModEngl. *black*, or OIcel. *blakkr* 'pale, yellowish brown' as against ModIcel. *blakkur* 'blackish, dark'. These Tocharian words would then be closely related to the IE word for 'silver', i.e. *\*H<sub>2</sub>érǵ-nt-o-* that could be seen as a *vṛddhi*-derivative to the zero grade stem *\*H<sub>2</sub>rǵ-nt-* 'glistening (white/black)'. See also B *ārkwī* 'white' (A *ārki*), A *ārśo* 'today', A *arkäts\** '?'.

B *eśatkai* 'very, in excess', see B *śatkai* 'very'.

## K

B *-k*, A *-k*, is an emphatic particle, always enclitic and unaccented, that can be suffixed to words of any class. Reflects CT *\*-kā* but IE origins are unclear. The IE pronominal stem *\*ke-/ko-* provides the enclitic *\*-ke* 'here' (cf. Lat. *ecce*), but this would be expected to yield CT *\*-sā*, unless this enclitic was apocopated before Tocharian palatalizations took place. It would seem more promising to look for the origins of BA *-k* among the IE enclitics *\*-ghel* *\*-gho*, *\*-ghi/\*-ghu* or *\*-ge/\*-ghe*, *\*-gil/\*-ghi*, as listed by Pokorny 1959: 417-418. Thus, e.g., CT *\*-kā* < IE *\*-g(h)i*, cf. Lith. *-gi*, or < IE *\*-ghi*, cf. Skt. *hi*, Gk. *-χι*. An IE *\*-i* would not cause palatalization of a tectal in Tocharian. However, an enclitic in IE *\*-e* would be possible, for one cannot exclude an early apocope in such a form, and a final *\*-o* would also be possible, for the reflex of that sound is often (sometimes conditioned by accent, sometimes facultatively(?)) reduced to *\*-ā* (> zero) in pronominal and adverbial forms in Tocharian (cf. B *omp/ompe* 'there', *kett/kete* 'whose'). See also A *ka*, A *kar* 'even, indeed', B *ka* (A *-k* ?), B *ñake* 'now', B *ñke* 'but', B *taka* 'then, indeed', B *yaka* 'still, yet'.

A *ka* is an emphatic particle that occurs only once: 110 a6 *vyāse trāñkāš puk śāñāntuyo ka* 'Vyāse says with all [his] artistry indeed'. The single occurrence of such a particle is suspect, and it seems best to assume that it is a mistake for *kar* 'even, indeed', q.v. See also B *-k* (A *-k*), B *ka* (A *-k* ?).

B *ka*, A *-k* (?), is an emphatic particle, always enclitic and unaccented (although it can receive secondary stress, esp. in verse, cf. B *taka/tkā* 'verily'), that can be used with words of any class. As it is always enclitic, apocope would make the East Tocharian equivalent of B *ka* identical with the enclitic particle A *-k* (B *-k*), and as these emphatic enclitics are more or less identical in meaning, it is unclear whether A *-k*, equalling B *ka*, exists at all. B *ka* (and A *-k* ?) reflects CT *\*kā*, but the IE origins are uncertain. Pokorny 1959: 417-418 lists various enclitics going back to IE *\*-ghel/\*-gho*, *\*-ghō*, *\*-ghi/\*-ghu*, *\*-ge/\*-ghe*, or *\*-gil/\*-ghi*. Forms in IE *\*-e* are excluded for Tocharian because of the lack of palatalization; forms in *\*-i* or *\*-u* would have yielded CT *\*-ā* and, unless one wants to assume a secondary lengthening in this enclitic,

that would seem excluded as well. Final *\*-ō* in a monosyllabic form would have resulted in CT *\*-u*, if one is to judge by A *wu* (m.) 'two' < IE *\*duō*. One is then left with a form in IE *\*-o*, whose development in a monosyllable is unknown. From BA *mā* 'not' < IE *\*mē* 'not' it is known that final *\*-ē*, in a monosyllable (at least), developed differently than in other positions. It seems possible that the same goes for *\*-o*, i.e. that in the same manner as IE *\*o* and *\*ē* usually coalesce in CT *\*æ*, so in final position of a monosyllable they coalesced in CT *\*-ā*. Thus, B *ka* (and A *-k* partly?) from CT *\*kā* might reflect the IE enclitic particle *\*-gho* (cf. the development of IE *\*mē* 'not' in A *mā*), and A *kar* 'even, indeed' < *\*kæ-rā* would reflect that same particle when compounded with a further enclitic (cf. A *mar* 'and not' < *\*mæ-rā*). This analysis would be corroborated by B *ñake* (adv.) 'now', with the verse alternant *ñke*, and B *ñke* (conj.) 'but' (< *\*ñke* < *\*ñākē* with unretracted accent), whose final *-ke* could be identical in its origin with B *ka* (A *-k* partly?). That is, *\*-gho*, when fused early with another particle (here the predecessor of B *ñā-*), did not undergo the monosyllable treatment but developed as would be expected in a form of more than one syllable. See also A *ka*, A *kar* 'even, indeed', B *-k* (A *-k*), B *ñake* 'now', B *ñke* 'but', B *taka* 'then, indeed', B *yaka* 'still, yet'.

B *kā* (interrog. adv.) 'why' is formed to the IE interrogative pronominal stem *\*k<sup>h</sup>e-/\*k<sup>h</sup>o-/\*k<sup>h</sup>i-*, as is B *k<sub>u</sub>se* 'who' (q.v.), etc. B *kā* reflects CT *\*k<sup>h</sup>ā*, presumably from an IE inst.sg. fem. of the type Lat. *quā* 'how', Gk. *πῇ* 'in what way'. This interpretation (going back to Van Windekens 1941: 29, Duchesne-Guillemin 1941: 170) would presuppose an IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>eH<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>*. This preform gave *\*k<sup>h</sup>aH* > *\*k<sup>h</sup>ā*, and in this monosyllable *\*-ā* developed to CT *\*-ā*, instead of an otherwise expected *\*-ā̃*, cf. the specific monosyllable treatment of BA *mā* 'not' (< *\*mā*) as against A *mar* 'and not' (< *\*mæ-rā*), or B (enclitic emphatic particle) *ka* (< *\*kā*) as against A *kar* 'even, indeed' (< *\*kæ-rā*), and in particular the nom.sg. of the feminine demonstrative pronoun *\*seH<sub>2</sub>* > CT *\*sā* > B *sā*, A *sā-s*. See also B *katu* 'for, namely', B *kāttsi* 'why then', B *kos* 'how much' (A *kos*), B *ksa* 'some(body)', B *k<sub>u</sub>se* 'who' (A *kus*), B *k<sub>u</sub>tamem* 'from where', A *k<sub>u</sub>yal* 'why', B *kwri* 'if' (A *kupre*) [B *māksu* 'who']].

A *kāc\** (f. [hapax]) 'skin, hide' (meaning suggested by Couvreur 1947b: 126; 1955-56: 70-71) is found only in the inst.sg. *kācyo*. Probably of noun class V,2b, implying a *ti*-stem nom.sg. *kāc\** < *\*kāca* < CT *\*k<sup>h</sup>ācā* < IE *\*kuH-tē(i)*, obl.sg. *kāc\** < *\*kācā* < CT

*\*k<sup>h</sup>ācā(m)* < IE *\*kuH-ti-m*, i.e. presupposing an originally hysterodynamic paradigm; cf. Gmc. *\*hūdi-z* (OIce. *húð* f. 'skin, hide', OE *hȳd* f. 'id.'), Lat. *cūtis* f. 'skin'. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1985b: 162-163 = 1986a: 250-251. See also B *kātso* (A *kāts*) 'stomach', A *kātse* 'near'.

A *kaci* is a hapax that occurs in the phrase *sne kaci* in 79 b1. Since Sieg (1952: 13 with n.15) it has been translated with "ohne Veranlassung (?)", i.e. 'without cause, without motive (?)', cf. Van Windekens 1976: 186. This would leave the word quite isolated within Tocharian as well as unexplained etymologically. Its context describes a situation where the Buddha saves a hunter from a raging elephant before he gets hurt. The Buddha then says to the frightened and crying hunter: 'Why do you cry, son, *sne kaci* ?'. While a translation with '... ohne Veranlassung?' might certainly fit, one might rather suggest '... ohne Schaden', i.e. 'without (having been) hurt', in which case a proper word-formational and etymological setting can be found for this word. A *kaci* would then derive from earlier *\*kaciya* < CT *\*kēcīyā*, an (adjective?) formation in *\*-iyā* to A *kat* 'harm, damage, destruction', for which see B *keto* '±damage' (A *kar*); there also B *keta* '±damage'.

A *kācke* (alt.) 'joy' is a *nomen actionis* of class III,2 (pl. *kāckenti*) to the verb A *kātk-* 'to rejoice'. In prevocalic sandhi A *kācke* occurs sometimes in the form *kācky*. It seems most practical to assume that A *kācke* was originally a feminine of class VI,1, formed in the same manner as A *āklye* 'doctrine' (class VI,1) to *ākl-* 'to learn, teach'. Transfers from class VI,1 to III,2 are known in East Tocharian, cf. A *kālyme* 'direction', *sāle* 'salt'. A *kācke* would be formed to the palatalized thematic stem *kāckä-*, present or subjunctive II. For the palatalization of *-ik-* to A *-ck-*, see discussion under B *kātk-*. A *kācke* represents CT *\*kēcīyā*, ultimately a derivative from a stem in (as if) IE *\*-en-*. See also B *kātk-* 'to rejoice' (A *kātk-*), B *katkauña* 'joy'.

B *kaice* (gender unknown) 'tub; body of lute' is a hapax of 529 D b1 where it glosses Skt. *droṇīm* 'body of a lute'. As there is no context, and the formation and word class (subst. or adj.) of *kaice* are unclear, no etymology can be hazarded.

B *kaiyye* (gender unknown; hapax), A *ke* (gender unknown) 'permission, opportunity(?)'. It is not certain that B *kaiyye* belongs with A *ke*. However, in its context 129 MQR b6 (*pre*)*k(š)ītār*

*kaiyye wek šap tärkano[y]* ·, this word might very well mean 'permission', viz. 'he would ask permission, and he would emit a sound (lit. voice)'. A *ke* occurs five times; it seems relatively secure that the handbooks are right in glossing it with the meaning given here, cf. 4 b3 (*ā*)*kntsā(ñ) kākōštuš pe pāplānkuš pe : tsru ke kälpoš n<sub>u</sub>nak sātkaṃtār omāskenam* 'the foolish even beaten [and] thrashed, as soon as they are permitted, extend themselves in evil', or 342 a5 *tmāš (āmāśāñ) lāntaš ke kälpoš kāresa sāseyūš* 'thereupon (the ministers), having received permission from the king, leaning on [their] sword ...'. The correspondence B *kaiyye*, A *ke*, appears to be parallel to B *paiyye*, A *pe* 'foot', indicating a CT *\*kaiyyæ* with an underlying form in IE *\*-o(i)djo-*, while, presumably, B *skeye*, A *ske* 'effort' show that IE *\*-ojo-* (and *\*-oiHo-?*) would have a different reflex. As an IE cognate one might then – with reserve – suggest OIcel. *heit* 'promise, word', *heiti* 'id.' < Gmc. *\*haita-*, *\*haitia-*. An IE *\*koidio-* through PT *\*koidjo-* would yield CT *\*kaiyyæ* > B *kaiyye*, A *ke*. The uncertainties concerning the meaning of these Tocharian words must be stressed again, though.

B *kāk-* 'to call, invite' (A *kāk-*), see B *kwā-* 'to call, invite'.

B *kāko* (n. [sg. m.]) 'invitation' is a neuter of class III,1 (pl. *kakonta*). It is formed to the verb B *kāk-* (subj. V *kākā-*, pret. I *kākā-*) 'to call, invite'. An endocentric derivative adj. B *kakošse* 'pertaining to an invitation' is found once. See also B *kwā-* 'to call, invite' (B *kāk-*, A *kāk-*).

B *kakse\** is a noun of unknown gender. It can reflect a thematic *o*-stem or an *s*-stem. It appears twice in the same text (197 M b4, b5) in the compound *kakse-wreme* 'kakse-thing' with regular compound accentuation, but its meaning is entirely unclear. Adams' etymological attempt (1985), based on the assumption that this word denotes some bodypart ('±groin, belly'), is speculative. This word, therefore, does not necessarily support his assumption that IE *\*-oks-* yielded Toch. *\*-äks-*.

B *kakwār\** is a noun of unknown gender, occurring only once (433 MQ 18) in the loc.sg. *kakwārne*. It appears to designate some kind of food, but a more precise definition is impossible. Van Windekens' etymological explanation (1976: 186) is therefore futile. As the text is an MQ text, B *kakwār\** need not be the correct form: it might also be *kākwar\**.

B *<sup>1</sup>käl-* 'to endure, bear' (pres. VIII [3sg.] *kälšäm* (MQ), [3pl.] *kälsem* (MQ), [vb. adj.] *kälšamo\**, subj. I [1sg.] *kelu*, [inf.] *kaltsi*, [priv.] *ekalätte\**, [ger.] *kaläl* 'womb', pret. IIIa [2sg.] *kelasta* (MQ), [3sg.] *kelsa*, [imp. 2sg.] *pkel*), A *<sup>1</sup>käl-* 'id.' (pres. VIII [ptc.] *kläsmām*, [ger.] *kälšäl*, [inf.] *klässi*, pret. III [imp. 2sg.] *pkäl*, pret. II [3sg.] *kakäl*, [3pl.] *kaklär*). The verbal adj. B *kälšamo\** 'enduring', formed to the present stem and attested in the verse form *kälšmo* (MQ) and the prose form (fem. obl.sg.) *kälšamai* (for *-mñai*), has produced the derived abstract B *kälšamñe* 'endurance, patience', matched by A *kläsmune* 'patience', with in turn a derived endocentric adj. B *kälšamñesse* 'patient'. The lack of a prefixal nasal in the privative *ekalätte\** is due to the root accent of the underlying subj. stem. While original *aniš*-roots sometimes acquire the subj. V marker *-ä-* and thus are transferred, so to speak, to the *seš*-root system, the opposite development apparently was not normal in Tocharian. It would, therefore, in spite of the usual practice of the handbooks, seem advisable to separate the *aniš*-verb BA *<sup>1</sup>käl-* 'to endure, bear' from the *seš*-verb BA *<sup>2</sup>käl-* 'to bring, lead'. In lack of a better alternative, one might accept Van Windekens' suggestion (1941: 25) that BA *<sup>1</sup>käl-* 'to endure, bear' derives from the IE root *\*kel-* 'to drive; hold, carry', cf. Skt. *kālāyati* 'drives, carries', Alb. (Geg.) *qil* 'bring, carry', OHG *haltan* 'hold'. None of the IE cognates is very close to the Tocharian verb in formation though, and the semantics is not particularly convincing. The Tocharian forms reflect CT pres. VIII *\*kälšälæ-*, subj. I *\*kälä-/kälä-*, from IE *\*k<sub>l</sub>-s<sup>ho</sup>-*, *\*(ke-)kol-/\*(ke-)k<sub>l</sub>-*. See also B *<sup>2</sup>käls-* 'to goad (cattle)'.

B *<sup>2</sup>käl-* 'to bring, lead' (pres. X [3sg.] *källäššäm*, [nom.ag.] *källäššuki\**, subj. V [2sg.] *kālat-nešco*, [3sg. med.] *kalatär*, [inf.] *kalatsi*, [imp. 2sg.] *pkāla*, [imp. 2sg. med.] *pkalar*, pret. Iaß [3sg.] *šala*, [3pl.] *šiläre*, [3sg. med.] *kläte*, [ptc.] *kālau*, caus. imp.? [2sg.] *šälāt* (MQ), pret. II [1sg. med.] *šālamai*), A *<sup>2</sup>käl-* 'id.' (pres. VI [3sg.] *källäš*, [ptc.] *källānt*, [ptc. med.] *källāmām*, [inf.] *källätsi*, subj. V [3sg.] *kläš-äm*, [3pl.] *kleñc*, [opt. 3sg. med.] *klitär*, [abstr.] *klälune*, [imp. 2sg. med.] *päklär*, pret. I [1sg.] *šlā*, [3sg.] *šäl*, [3pl.] *kalar*, [1sg. med.] *kle*, [3sg. med.] *kläte*, [ptc.] *klo*). The idiomatic expression B *epiyac käl-* means 'to recall, remember'. Of these forms, only B (MQ) imp.? *šälāt* is out of place; possibly for *\*šälāt*, cf. discussion of this form in Hilmarsson 1991a: 52. B pret. *šiläre* is an example of the frequent occurrence of *-i-* for *-ä-* in palatal environment. The A subjunctive has generalized the

zero grade stem *\*kālā-*. The B pres. X (*-nāsk-*) formation is simply an extension by *-sk-* of the pres. VI (*-nā-*) formation of A. As indicated under B *<sup>1</sup>kāl-* 'to endure, bear', the *sef*-structure of *<sup>2</sup>kāl-* makes the traditional association (originally Van Windekens 1941: 25) of this latter verb with IE *\*kel-* 'to drive; hold, carry' rather unfeasible. One may therefore prefer a derivation from IE *\*kelH<sub>3</sub>-* 'to lift, protrude', as found in Lith. *kėlti* 'to lift, carry, transport'. For CT one may reconstruct pres. VI *\*kālñā-*, subj. V *\*kālā-/kālā-*, pret. I *\*šālā-/kālā-* (possibly also *\*kālā-* because of A 3pl. *kalar*, but that preterite type has not been satisfactorily explained), reflecting IE (pres.) *\*k<sub>l</sub>-n-(e)H<sub>3</sub>-*, (perf.) *\*(ke-)kolH<sub>3</sub>-* */(ke-)k<sub>l</sub>H<sub>3</sub>-*, and (aor.) *\*kelH<sub>3</sub>-* */\*k<sub>l</sub>H<sub>3</sub>-*. See also B *källāššuki* '(lit.) bringer'.

- B *kālāk-* 'to follow' (pres. I [3sg. med.] *koloktrā*, [ptc. med.] *kolokmane*, pret. Ibβ [3sg.] *šālāka*, [ptc.] *kakālakau\**), A *kalk-/kāl<sub>k</sub>-* 'to go' [suppletively providing the subj. and pret. stems in a paradigm with *yā-* 'to go'] (subj. V [1sg.] *kalkam*, [1pl.] *kālkāmās*, [opt. 3sg.] *kālkiš*, [ger.] *kālkāl*, pret. I [3sg.] *kālk*, *kālā-ñi*, [3pl.] *kalkar-ām*, [ptc.] *kālko*). As already proposed by Smith 1911: 11, these verbs derive from IE *\*k<sup>u</sup>elH-* 'to move about, turn'. The details are in some respects difficult, but the following scenario might be proposed. The root *\*k<sup>u</sup>elH-* was extended with a tectal, say *-k-*, cf. B *tākā-* 'was' from *\*(s)tH<sub>2</sub>-* + *-k-*. A perfect *\*(k<sup>u</sup>e-)k<sup>u</sup>olH-k-*, zero grade *\*(k<sup>u</sup>e-)k<sup>u</sup>lH-k-*, produced the CT subj. V stem *\*k<sup>u</sup>ālāk-ā-* with zero grade *\*k<sup>u</sup>ālāk-ā-* (secondarily for expected *\*k<sup>u</sup>lāk-ā-*). In West Tocharian a subj. of this verb does not exist, but would have had the full grade form *\*kālākā-*, secondarily changed to *\*kālākā-* because of the stem's trisyllabic structure. In East Tocharian, the full grade form yielded *\*kalākā-* > *kalkā-* regularly, while the expected zero grade *\*k<sub>l</sub>ālākā-* was changed to a "normal" zero grade *kāl<sub>k</sub>ā-* to match the full grade *kalkā-*. Unless the laryngeal was *\*-H<sub>3</sub>-*, there is therefore no necessity to assume that A *kāl<sub>k</sub>ā-* shows the regular outcome of an IE *\*-lH-* in interconsonantal position. In the preterite, East Tocharian shows a development to *kalkā-* and *kāl<sub>k</sub>ā-*, parallel to that described for the subjunctive. The B pret. *šālāka* has, according to Krause (1952: 169), an unexpected initial palatal. However, this form could be of the same rare type of West Tocharian preterites as *lyakāwa* 'I saw', *lyawā-ne* 'rubbed him', *plyawāre* 'they bewailed', *šalla*, *šalāre* 'he, they threw', matched by East Tocharian imperfects of the type A *šārsar* 'they used to know'. This type may reflect an original intensive-iterative

preterite (cf. Hilmarsson 1990: 111), or, possibly, it might be the remnant of a Narten type aorist with *\*ē*-vocalism. We are then left with the strange pres. I stem B *kolok-*. Like the other present stems of that type (B *wolok-* 'to dwell', *porok-* 'to rejoice', *sonop-* 'to anoint'), B *kolok-* should, in my opinion, be explained differently from, or without regard to, the presents of class IV (type B *orotār* 'ceases'). It might be suggested that these presents are derived from the zero grade of the subj. V stem (through removal of the subj. marker *-ā-*), and that the *-o-* of the initial syllable reflects a sometimes occurring, but apparently not consistent, change of *-(w)ā-* to *-o-* in labial surroundings, cf. B *kokale* 'wagon' but B *k<sub>l</sub>ālā-* to the verb *kwāl-* 'to recede, turn', or B *pokkāka* 'call!' with the imperative prefix *pā-*. Such surroundings are clearly present in *porok-*, *wolok-* and *kolok-* < *\*kwālāk-*, and could be found in *sonop-* as well [see B *sānāp-*]. That is to say, the CT zero grade subj. *\*kwālāk-ā-* produced a pres. stem *\*kwālāk-* that, instead of developing into *\*k<sub>l</sub>ālāk-* as might perhaps have been most immediately expected, rounded the *-ā-* to *-o-* and gave B *\*kolāk-*. The final step to B *kolok-* can only be made via proportional analogy. Either subj. *kālāk-* vs. pres. *\*kolāk-* led to a pres. *kolok-*, or the pattern of subj. V *ārā-* vs. pres. IV *oro-* caused the change of *\*kolāk-* to *kolok-*.

- B *kalāl\** (m. sg., *hapax*) 'womb' is in origin a gerundive II formation to the verb B *<sup>1</sup>kāl-* 'to endure, bear', *q.v.* Attested is the loc.sg. *kalālne* in 333 MQR a4.
- B *kalāška(na)* (pl.) '?' is a *hapax* of unknown meaning, occurring in a list of ingredients, and possibly designating a plant, viz. W 31 a5 *watāmānta kalāška(na) tsānkana* 'almonds, *k.*, [and] shoots'. Could also be an adjective. Etymology unclear.
- A *kalk-, kāl<sub>k</sub>-* 'to go', see B *kālāk-* 'to follow'.
- B *källāššuki\** [*hapax*] '(lit.) bringer' is a *nomen agentis* of adj. class II,1, formed to the pres. X stem *källāššā-* of the verb B *<sup>2</sup>kāl-* 'to bring'. The locution *epiyac kāl-* means 'to remember', and so 330 S b5 *epyaš* (sic) *klāššuki* means 'one who remembers' (verse, for prose *epiyac källāššuki*). See also B *<sup>2</sup>kāl-* 'to bring, lead' (A *kāl-*).
- B *kallau* (m. [sg.]) 'gain' is presumably a neuter of class II,2 (gen.sg. *källauntse*), formed to the stem *\*kāl<sub>p</sub>-nā-* (pres. or subj.) of the verb B *kāl<sub>p</sub>-* 'to obtain', through the addition of a suffixal *\*-män*, cf. B *kārstau\** 'cutting'. From *kallau* is derived the



endocentric adj. *källaŭsse* 'pertaining to gain'. See also B *kālp*- 'to obtain' (A *kālp*-).

- B *kālm*- 'to permit, enable(?); direct(?)' (pres. IX [3sg.] *kālmaššām-ne*, subj. I [3sg.] *šilmaṃ-ne*, pret. Iaß [3sg.] *kalma* (?)). It is probably better to assume that *šilmaṃ-ne* is a subj. I rather than subj. II: the pres. *kālmāššā*- is probably based on an earlier pres. stem *\*kālmā*-, and the subj. (I or II) would have been identical with the pres. stem. The only way to combine these two phenomena would be to assume an earlier ablauting pres. stem *\*šālmā*- ~ *\*kālmā*-. While a pret. I is the expected accompaniment of pres. IX and subj. I, one might have expected a palatalized pret. *\*šālmā*-, instead of the actually attested *\*kālmā*-. However, *kalma* may not be a verbal form at all, cf. Winter 1961: 94sq. (= 1984: 166sq.). Etymologically, this verb is unclear. One would expect an IE *\*Kelm*-, but an appropriate root has not been found. Because of the interchange of forms in a palatal and a non-palatal initial, it seems rather unlikely that this verb is denominative. For a short discussion of this verb, see Winter (*l.c.*).

- B *kalma*, see B *kālm*- 'to permit(?), direct(?)'.

- B *kāln*- 'to resound, reverberate' (pres. I [3pl.] *kalneṃ*, [impf. 3sg.] *kalñi*, pret. IIIa [3sg. med.] *kālnsāte*), A *kāln*- 'id.' (pres. I [3sg.] *kālñas* (*sic*, for *kālñās*; or is this really a pres. III form?), [3pl.] *kālñiñc*, [impf. 3sg.] *kāl(ñā)*, [ptc. med.] *(kā)lnmām*, caus. pres. VIII [3sg.] *kālñās-ām*, subj. IX [3pl.] *kālñāseñc-ām*, pret. II [3pl.] *kakālñār*). A 3sg. pres. *kālñas* is probably a scribal mistake for *kālñās*; but a pres. III form cannot be excluded. The non-assimilated *-ln-* indicates that B and A *kāln*- represent earlier *\*klān*-, i.e. a CT pres. I *\*klān-ā*-. A non-causative subjunctive stem is not attested, but the deverbatively formed abstract B *klene* 'sound' (*q.v.*) (with the derived adj. B *klenē*, A *kłano*\* 'resounding') all but assures a subj. I or V CT *\*klān-ā/ā-/\*klān-ā/ā*-. Etymologically, this verb has been associated with OHG *hellan* 'to resound' (Jacobsohn 1934: 212) and OE *hlynnan* 'to echo, resound', *hlyn(n)* 'noise, roaring'. The IE root in question is *\*kel-H<sub>1</sub>*- 'to call; make noise; resound'. This makes for some formal difficulties. A nasal present (assuming that the nasal has been generalized in Tocharian) *\*k<sub>l</sub>-n-H<sub>1</sub>*- would result in CT *\*kālñā*- and a reshuffled *\*k<sub>l</sub>H<sub>1</sub>-n*- would result in CT *\*kālñ-ā*-, and in both cases one would expect assimilation. It is no use appealing to the abstract B *klene*, etc., as the model for the sequence *-IV-*, for *klene* is deverbative and reflects the structure of the verb. A way out of

this would be to posit *\*kl-ŋ-H<sub>1</sub>*- that would give CT *\*klān-ā*-, but one does not find that vocalization in Indo-European. In view of these difficulties, one might prefer a derivation from a parallel *aniṭ*-root with an *u*-extension. An IE *\*kleu*- 'to resound' could be seen in OE *hlynnan* (with *\*hlun-* from *\*klu-n-*), ultimately reposing on a nasal present. Such a nasal present would regularly give the Tocharian verb (*\*klun-* > *\*klān-* > *kālñ-*) with secondary generalization of the nasal in the entire paradigm. If there is a relationship between BA *kālñ*- 'to resound' and B *kul\** 'bell', one might even reconstruct the IE preform as *\*k<sup>u</sup>lu-n-*, an extension of a parallel root *\*k<sup>u</sup>el-* 'to resound', as seen in Oícel. *hvellr* 'resounding', etc. But that is probably not necessary, see under B *kul\**. See also B *klene* 'sound', B *klenē* 'resounding' (A *kłano*\*).

- A *kālp\** is, according to Couvreur 1955-56: 76, a designation of a species of worms. It is a *hapax* of 375 a1 *pāñ k[ānt] kālpā [e]š[u]m[is] [e]šāk s(ā)k we pi tmām sa* --- which begins with 'five hundred worms ...'. Presumably, *kālp\** is a neuter of class I,1. Etymology unclear.

- B *kālp*- 'to obtain, gain, attain' (pres. IX [3sg.] *kālpāššām*, [3pl.] *kālpāskem*, [impf. 3sg.] *kālpāšši*, [ptc. med.] *kālpāskemane*, subj. V [1sg.] *kallau*, [opt. 3pl.] *kāllōyem*, [inf.] *kāllātsi*, pret. Iaß [1sg.] *kālpāwa*, [3sg. med.] *kālpāte*, [ptc.] *kālpau*, intens. pret. [3sg.] *kālwiya* (Couvreur 1954b: 87), caus. pres. IX [1sg.] *kālpāskau*, [3sg.] *kālpāššām* (MQ)), A *kālp*- 'id.' (pres. VI [3sg. med.] *kālpnātär*, [ptc. med.] *kālpnāmām*, [inf.] *kālpnātsi*, impf. [3sg. med.] *šālpāt*, subj. V [3sg. med.] *kālpātär*, [vb. adj.] *kālpām\**, [opt. 3sg. med.] *kālpitär*, pret. I [2sg. med.] *kālpāte*, [3sg. med.] *kālpāt*, [ptc.] *kālpō*, caus. pret. II [3sg.] *kakālypā-m*). Occasionally, one finds *-w-* for *-p-* here, as well as a reduction of the initial syllable B *kālp*- to *k<sub>l</sub>p-*. In the B subj., an assimilation of *-lpn-* through *-ln-* to *-ll-* has taken place. The East Tocharian pattern of pres. VI ~ subj. V is primary as against B pres. IX ~ subj. VI. The B subj. VI has been relegated from an earlier pres. function and replaced a subj. V, as can be seen not only from the preserved pres/ VI ~ subj. V of East Tocharian, but also by the privative B *eñkalpatte\** (*hapax*), formed to a B subj. V stem *\*kālpā*- (prefixed nasal retained because of the suffixal accent of the subj. stem), matching A subj. V *kālpā*-, as well as by B *kālpauca* (m. [sg.]) 'obtainer' (*q.v.*), a *nomen agentis* of adj. class II,3, formed to that same subj. stem (cf. discussion under B *kārkauca* 'robber'). B *kallau* (m. [sg.]) 'gain' (*q.v.*) is formed to the stem *\*kālp-nā*- through the addition of a suffixal *\*-mān*, cf. B *kārstau\** 'cutting'.



For this verb one may reconstruct a CT pres. VI *\*kälþ-nā-*, possibly beside a pres. IX *\*kälþā-ššā-/kälþāskæ-*, subj. *\*kälþ-ā-*. The A impf. *šälþat* is not secondary, as maintained by Van Windekens 1976: 201, but reflects an intensive-iterative preterite (see also discussion under B *kālāk-* 'to follow' [A *kalk-/kälk-*]; more fully in Hilmarsson 1990: 111). The etymology of this verb is still unclear. Van Windekens (l.c.), following Petersen (1933: 18), prefers an association with Skt. *kālpate* 'is fitted, accords; is allotted' to IE *\*(s)kelp-*, an extension of the root *\*skel-* 'to cut'. This seems possible, although not entirely satisfying. Adams (1989a: 241sq.) suggests a connection with Toch. B *kälyp-* 'to steal', B *klyep-* 'to touch', to an IE *\*klep-* 'to lay hand to' (Gk. *κλέπτω* 'I steal'), which also seems possible. See also B *kälpaššuki* 'obtainer', B *kallau* 'gain', B *kälþauca* 'obtainer', A *kälþ* 'gain', A *kälþām\** 'gaining', B *kälyp-* 'to steal', B *klepe* 'theft', B *klyep-* 'to touch'.

A *kälþ* (m. [sg.]) 'gain', also found in the compound *kälþa-pältsäk\** 'having the intention of gaining', seems to be a thematic noun of class V,1, formed to the verb A *kälþ-* 'to obtain'. Note, however, that thematic abstracts to verbs usually have *o*-grade (in IE terms) of the root, so that one might have expected here A *\*kalp*. See also B *kälþ-* 'to obtain' (A *kälþ-*).

A *kälþām\** 'gaining' is a verbal adj. to A *kälþ-* 'to obtain'. This word is attested only once (243 a3), written *kälþāš* but is clearly to be corrected to *kälþām\**. See also B *kälþ-* 'to obtain' (A *kälþ-*).

B *kälpaššuki\** 'obtainer' is a *nomen agentis* of adj. class II,1. This word is a hapax of 330 S a5 (*se šamāne...ytā*)*ri yaṃ • wašik kälpaššukiṃ yoñiyai šparkäššukiṃ käryorccempa wat* '(if a monk) travels a road together with a *wašik kälpaššuki* or with a tradesman that has lost his way, (it is a sin)'. The words *wašik kälpaššuki* are interlinearly glossed with OTurk. *yolo ywitquji*, and *kälpaššuki* thus appears to mean 'obtainer, gainer'. However, in this Sängim text one would have expected *kälþäššuki*, if this word was formed to the non-caus. stem *kälþäššā-* of *kälþ-* 'to obtain', or *kälþäššuki* if formed to the caus. stem. It is possible, therefore, that *kälpaššuki*, in spite of the Turkish gloss, should be translated with 'stealer' and derived from an otherwise unattested pres. IX *\*kälþäššā-* to the verb B *kälyp-* 'steal'. Uncertain. See also B *kälþ-* 'to obtain' (A *kälþ-*).

B *kälþauca* 'obtainer' is a *nomen agentis* of adj. class II,3, formed to the subj. V stem *\*kälþā-* to B *kälþ-* 'to obtain' (q.v.).

B *\*kälš-* 'to pour, gush; lean (on), press, oppress, suppress' (pres. VI [ger.] *kälšnāle*, subj. V [2sg.] *klätsāt* (Š!), pret. Iaß [3sg. med.] *kältsāte* (H 149. 69 b3), [3pl. med.] *(käl)l[ts]ānt(e)*, [ptc.] *kältsau*), A *kälš-* 'id.' (pret. Ia [ptc.] *kältsō*, caus. pret. II [3sg.] *kakältsā-m*, *kakältsis*). B *kälšnāle* occurs once: 497 Š a4 *mītā [ša]k [š]käs traunta enem kälš[nā]le* '16 traunta of honey should be poured into (it)'. The handbooks agree in assigning *kälšnāle* to a root *kälš-* 'to pour' (Krause 1952: 236 has "hineintröpfeln(?)"), but they assume that the other forms cited here belong to a different verb, i.e. to a B and A *kälts-* for which they give the meaning 'to menace'. This is not justified, however. The meanings 'to press' and 'to pour, gush' fit much better. Thus, in both languages one finds this verb used for the process of pressing (or pouring?) oil (B P 1 a2 *kältsau šalyte* 'pressed (poured?) oil', A 177 a3 (*šä*)*lypā sepalyo kakältsā-m* 'he let oil be pressed (poured?) with ointment'); moreover, in A this verb is used to describe the gushing of blood in veins, leading to a loss of consciousness (A 77 b2 (*puk marmās*) *kakältsā-m trik tkañā (klā)* 'it made (all) her (veins) gush, she swooned, (and fell) to the earth', cf. also A 75 a3); A 65 b2 *kältsō wraske* is not 'menacing illness' but 'oppressive, heavy illness', and B H 149. 69 b3 *iprer kältsāte* is not 'the air was menacing' but 'the air was oppressive'; furthermore, B 91 Š a2 *warporše mai klätsāt* is 'you will perhaps suppress the sensations'. On the other hand, the handbooks suggest that the pres. II forms B 3 Š a3 *kalštär-me* and 3 Š a4 *kältsenträ* belong with the forms under discussion here. However, these two present forms must be translated with 'to goad (cattle)' and, therefore, do not belong here (see B *\*kälš-* 'to goad'). Indeed, a present II stem in a paradigm with subj. V and pret. I would be quite unique – and therefore suspect – while the inclusion of the pres. VI *kälšnāle* accords with a correct pattern. As it seems very unlikely that the root-final consonant of this verb has been palatalized, it may be suggested that all the forms in *kälts-* have an epenthetic *-t-*. This is no problem, except in the case of the subj. V B *klätsāt*. However, with *-lts-* arising regularly in almost all forms of the paradigm – among them also in the (unattested) zero grade of the subjunctive – it is not unlikely that *klätsāt* may have acquired its *-ts-* analogically. Besides, the subj. stem *klätsā-* has probably come into being secondarily, replacing earlier *\*kältsā-*, on the pattern of B *krästā-* to *kräst-* 'to cut off', whose paradigm was quite parallel to that of *kälš-*. Thus, for CT

one might reconstruct pres. VI *\*kālsnā-*, subj. V *\*klāsā-* (→ *\*klātsā-* analogically) / *\*kālsā* (possibly for earlier *\*kālsā-* / *\*kālsā-*). This verb might derive from an IE *\*k<sub>l</sub>-s-*, an *s*-extension of IE *\*kel-* 'to lean'. For a development of the meaning 'to lean' to 'to pour', cf. the cognate OIcel. *hella* 'to pour' vs. *halla* 'to lean' (< *\*kol-t-*). For the meaning 'to press', one may compare Engl. 'to lean' vs. 'to lean on, press'. See also B *klese* 'some kind of food'.

B *<sup>2</sup>kāls-* 'to goad' (pres. II [3sg. med.] *kalštār-me*, [3pl. med.] *kālsentrā*). These two present forms are in the handbooks classified as belonging to a verb B *kāls-* 'to menace'. However, as argued under B *<sup>1</sup>kāls-* 'to pour, gush; press', such a verb probably does not exist. The present II formation of *<sup>2</sup>kāls-* makes it advisable to separate it completely from *<sup>1</sup>kāls-*. Furthermore, it is clear that B *<sup>2</sup>kāls-* differs from *<sup>1</sup>kāls-* semantically. While the latter means 'to pour, gush; press', *<sup>2</sup>kāls-* has the meaning 'to goad (cattle)': 3 Š a3-4 (šā)ñ [k](e)[wä]n šakātaisa kalštār-me šñār wepeñś ašan-me : tuyknesa ktsaitsñe srūka(lñe) šaul kāl[ts]entrā wñolmentsō šañ [ka]lymiś aken-ne : '(As the herdsman) goads his cows with a stick [and] leads them to their corral, so old age [and] death goad the life of the beings [and] lead it to its end'. In the discussion above, B *<sup>2</sup>kāls-* was said to form a present of class II, but it might also be of class VIII. The CT preform was *\*kālsā-* / *\*kālsā-* (theoretically, one might also posit *\*klāsā-* / *\*klāsā-*) that could reflect IE *\*k<sub>l</sub>-s-*, an *s*-extension of the root *\*kel-* 'to drive on, urge', cf. Gk. *κέλλω* 'I sail a ship ashore', Goth. *haldan* 'to drive cattle', etc. Actually, it seems possible that B *<sup>2</sup>kāls-* 'to goad' is to be interpreted as 'to hold cattle, to drive cattle', and, therefore, as identical with – and a part of – the paradigm of B *<sup>1</sup>kāl-* 'to endure, bear' (q.v.) that indeed forms a present of class VIII. The basic meaning uniting these forms would then be 'to hold' (on the one hand, → 'to hold cattle, drive cattle', and on the other, → 'to hold out, endure').

B *kālšamo\** 'enduring', see B *<sup>1</sup>kāl-* 'to endure, hold out' (A *kāl-*).

B *kālšw-* is the onset of a word in 41 Š a1. Unclear.

A *kāltānk* (gender unknown) is in the handbooks said to designate some kind of musical instrument. However, that seems unlikely. This word occurs three times; in all instances it seems to designate a sound like 'lamentation' or 'plaintive cry, wailing', viz. 395 a5 *šertmām kāltānk tāsmām šñi kotār kāmār kropant* 'crying, letting

out a plaintive cry, they at once collected their family (and left)', 255 b8 *kāl(ta)ñk klyoštār bhūtāśśi* 'the wailing of the demons is heard', 335 b9 *kāltānk yoki śla nawem* 'with a roar like plaintive cries'. This rendering appears to be corroborated by the phrase *kāltānkenām wa(šenyō)* 'with a wailing voice' with adjectival *kāltānken* < *\*-a<sup>1</sup>ñña* formed to *kāltānk*. This adjective occurs twice in Berlin fragments (cf. Sieg & Siegling & Schulze 1931: 70). A *kāltānk* is a noun of class V,3 (rather than V,1?) with the pl. *kāltāñki*. As the formation of A *kāltānk* remains quite unclear, any etymological association is futile.

B *kāls-*, see B *<sup>1</sup>kāls-* 'to pour, gush; press' (A *kāls-*), B *<sup>2</sup>kāls-* 'to goad'.

A *kālweñi*, see B *klu* 'rice' (A *klu*).

B *kāly-* 'to stand' [forms a suppletive paradigm with B *stām-*] (pres. II [3sg. med.] *kālytār*, [3pl.] *kālyentār*, [impf. 3sg. med.] *kālyi(tār)*, [ger.] *kālyelle*, [ptc.] *kālyeñca*, [ptc. med.] *kālyemane*, [vb. adj.] *kālyemo\**), A *kāly-* 'id.' [forms a suppletive paradigm with A *stām-*] (pres. II [3sg. med.] *kālytār*, [3pl.] *kālyantrā*, [impf. 3sg. med.] *kālyāt*, [opt. 3sg. med.] *kālyitār*, [inf.] *kālyitsi*, [ptc.] *kālyant*, [ptc. med.] *kālymām*). The form A *kālymām*, with an unexpected loss of the thematic vowel *-a-*, is by no means unique in East Tocharian, see Winter 1991: esp. p. 53 on these forms. Etymologically, this verb was correctly associated with IE *\*klei-* 'to incline' by Van Windekens 1941: 33, cf. Skt. *śrāyati* 'to lean', *śrāyate* 'leans, is placed', etc. While a zero grade *\*k<sub>l</sub>i-* would through CT *\*kālyā-<sup>1</sup>* yield the attested Tocharian forms, the existence of normal grade forms in Skt. *śrāyati* and Lith. *šliėti* (pres. *šliėja*) 'to lean' would suggest that the Tocharian forms reflect normal grade as well. An IE *\*kleje-* would produce CT *\*kālyā-<sup>2</sup>*. At first glance, one might expect this form to turn up as *\*kālyitār* in B and A. However, there are two sound-laws that may have operated on this form before it had a chance to turn into *\*kālyitār*. On the one hand, *-Rā-* always changes into *-āR-*. We would therefore get *\*kālyā-<sup>2</sup>*. On the other hand, and this may be a part of the same process, *-ā-* is always lost after a resonant (including *-y-*, *-w-*). We would therefore get *\*kālyitār*. In any case, an *-ā-* is always lost before the *-t-* of the 2/3sg. middle endings. That is to say, IE *\*kleje-tro* would finally, under any circumstances, yield CT *\*kālyitār* and this would result regularly in B *kālytār*, A *kālytār*. See also B *kālyemo\** 'standing, being', B *kālymiye* 'region' (A *kālyme*), A *kālycam* 'down-turned', B *kālynts-*

'to sleep' (A *klis-*), B *kläsk-* 'to set (of the sun)', B *-kläsko\** '(sun)set', B *kläntsauñe\** 'drowsiness'.

A *kälycam* (adj. fem. obl.pl.) 'turned downwards, drawn (of swords)' is a hapax of 342 b3 [t]māṣ (āmāsā)ñ *kälycam* *kāresyo* *tānāśolis* *yokm* *aṃc* *štmorāṣ* *śla* *wāktasurñe* *lāntac* *trāñk(iñc)* 'thereupon, (the ministers) standing at the gate of Dānaśālā with down-turned(?) swords [and] with a show of respect say to the king'. The handbooks have translated this adjective with 'menacing' (Sieg [1952: 36], Thomas & Krause [1964: 94] "drohend(?)", Van Windekens [1976: 201] "menaçant(?)" ), assuming an etymological connection with a verbal root B *kälts-* 'to threaten'. However, in our view, no such verb exists (for the relevant forms, see B <sup>1</sup>*käls-* 'to pour, gush; press' (A *käls-*) and B <sup>2</sup>*käls-* 'to goad'). Furthermore, it seems semantically most unlikely that the ministers in the text in question, while showing their respect to the king, should at the same time wave their swords threateningly. Rather, it may be assumed that the swords were drawn and turned downwards as a sign of allegiance and respect. It seems simplest then to assume that *kälycam* simply means 'down-turned' (*vel sim.*); this meaning suggests that it might be etymologically connected with the verb A and B *käly-* 'to stand', reflecting the basic or original meaning 'to lean, incline' of the underlying IE root \**kli-*. A *kälycam* is a fem. obl.pl. form. The nom.sg. masc. could be \**kälyc* or \**kälyt* or even \**kälyts*. I assume that we have here a positive (as opposed to the Tocharian privative) formation in CT \**kälyttæ* 'inclining, turned downwards' to the verb BA *käly-* 'to stand'. CT \**kälyttæ* would reflect earlier \**klyättæ* from (as if) IE \**kli-to-s*. See also B *käly-* 'to stand' (A *käly-*), B *klyemo\** 'standing, being', B *kälymiye* 'region' (A *kälyme*), B *klänts-* 'to sleep' (A *klis-*), B *kläsk-* 'to set (of the sun)', B *-kläsko\** '(sun)set', B *kläntsauñe\** 'drowsiness'.

B *kälymišsem* is a hapax that, according to Broomhead 1962b: 71, occurs in PK 13 E b4. No meaning is given, and I have not had occasion to check the form. Unclear.

B *kälymiye* (f.), A *kälyme* (sg. m.f., pl. f.) 'quarter, region, direction, (Skt.) diś-' is in West Tocharian a noun of class VI,1 (obl. *kalymi*, obl.pl. *kälymim*), while in East Tocharian it is partly of that class (pl. *kälymem* [for *-eñ*], obl.pl. *kälymes*) and partly a neuter of class I,2 (pl. *kälymeyu*) or III,2 (pl. *kälymeyäntu*, loc. *kälymentwam*, *kälymetwam*). It is not infrequent for East Tocharian fem. class VI,1 nouns to go over to neuter flexion. An

adjectival B *kälymiñne\** 'adjacent, neighbouring, (BHS) deśīya-' is formed to the obl.sg. The origin of the final B *-iye*, A *-e*, is not certain, but it seems likely that it somehow reflects an *n*-stem suffix added to the underlying stem, which itself in many cases is an *n*-stem. See Hilmarsson 1989b: 89sq., where it is suggested that CT \**-āñæ* resulted in B *-iye* and A *-e* regularly. These words were originally associated with Gk. *κλίμα* 'region' by Schneider 1940: 204. They are accordingly to be derived from the IE root \**klei-* 'to incline'. B *kälymiye*, A *kälyme* would thus reflect CT \**kälymiyæ* < \**klyām'iya* from \**klyām'āñæ* < (as if) IE \**klimen-ēn*, i.e. (a Tocharian) *n*-stem derivative from \**klimen-*. See also B *käly-* 'to stand' (A *käly-*), A *kälycam* 'down-turned', B *klyemo\** 'standing, being', B *klänts-* 'to sleep' (A *klis-*), B *kläsk-* 'to set (of the sun)', B *-kläsko\** '(sun)set', B *kläntsauñe\** 'drowsiness'.

B *kälyp-* 'to steal' (subj. IV [opt. 3sg.] (*kälypi*, [opt. 1pl.] (*kälypiyem*, [inf.] *kälypitsi*, intens. pret. [3sg.] *kälypiya* (Thomas & Krause 1964: 183), pret. I [1sg.] *kälypawa* (Thomas & Krause 1964: 183), [ptc.] *kekalypu\**). This verb was correctly associated with Gk. *κλέπτω* 'I steal', Goth. *hlifan* 'to steal', etc., by Van Windekens 1960: 39. Furthermore, Adams 1989a: 242-243 suggests that the subj. *kälypi-* is the exact equivalent of the Greek formation, reflecting IE \**klép-i<sup>9b</sup>*-. However, that is hardly so. The subj. IV is a secondary formation in Tocharian, based on the optative. Athematic subj. I formations sometimes acquire the optative marker *-i-* and add it to their athematic stems. The optative in *-i-* is thematic (cf. 3pl. *aklyiyenträ* 'they would learn'), but the subjunctive I, having acquired the *-i-* from the optative, continues to be athematic (cf. *älyintär* [MQ] 'they will keep away'). B subj. IV *kälyp-i-*, therefore, cannot continue the thematic IE \**klép-i<sup>9b</sup>*-. Rather, it seems necessary to posit an athematic CT \**kälyp-ä-* < \**klyäp-ä-* from IE \**klep-*. Note that Germanic (Goth. *hlifan*) and Italic (Lat. *clepere*) do not presuppose a formation in \**-ie-i<sup>9b</sup>*-. These forms can be seen as thematizations of an earlier athematic verb. However, Adams' suggestion (o.c.) that B *klyäp-* is related to B *kälp-* 'to attain' and B *klyep-* 'to touch' may well be correct, and (originally) B pres. II *klyepä-* and subj. I (later IV) *kälyp-* may have belonged to a single paradigm. See also B *kälp-* 'to attain' (A *kälp-*), B *klepe* 'theft', B *klyep-* 'to touch'.

B *kälyške* (m. [only sg.]) 'youth, boy' is probably of noun class VI,3c (obl.sg. *kälskem*, voc.sg. *kälska*), as it appears to be a diminutive in *-ške*. The orthography varies between *-lyš-*, *-lš-*, and

even *-lps-* (the last three times in the same text [110 MJ]). Beside 'youth, boy', one finds the meaning '(brahmin) novice'. A derived endocentric adj. *kālskaṣṣe*, translating BHS *māṇava*, is attested in 542 M<sub>a</sub>2. Etymological assessment is difficult, but it seems possible that Van Windekens (1970a: 165) is right in finding cognates in OIcel. *halr* 'man' < IE *\*kali-*, Gk. *καλός* 'beautiful' < IE *\*kal-<sub>u</sub>-*, Skt. *kalyá-* 'sound' < IE *\*kal-<sub>j</sub>-*, all to an IE root *\*kal-* 'to be strong, sound'. One might then reconstruct a CT *\*kālyāškæ* from IE *\*kali-* plus the diminutive suffix. The change of CT *-yā-* to B *-y-* is regular.

A *-kālywāts*, see B *-kālywe* (A *-klyu*).

B *-kālywe* (m. [sg.]), A *-klyu* (m. [sg.]) is only found in the compounds B *ñem-kālywe*, A *ñom-klyu* 'renown, (lit.) name-[and]-fame'. The CT preform was *\*-klyāwæ* from IE (*s*-stem) *\*klewos* (etymology originally Sieg & Siegling & Schulze 1931: 222 n.2). As *Rā* always becomes *ār* (except in absolute initial position), CT *\*klyāwæ* would have resulted in B *\*kālywe* > *\*kalywe*, A *\*kālyu* > *\*klyu*, regularly. However, as the accent always lay on the last syllable of the first member of compounds, CT *\*-klyāwæ* inescapably yielded B *-kālywe*, A *-klyu*, anyway. An endocentric derived adj. is found in B *ñem-kālyweṣṣe* (*hapax*) 'pertaining to renown', formed to *ñem-kālywe*, whereas the exocentric A *ñom-kālywāts* 'having renown, illustrious', which corresponds to B *ñem-kālywetstse\** (H 149. 327 a1), looks as if it is formed to a plural in *\*-w-ā*; however, the vowel preceding the adjectival suffix A *-ts* is always *-ā-* if it is itself preceded by a *-w-*, i.e. we have *-wāts*, but *-āts* or *-ats* after other consonants. It is possible that this distribution originated in nouns forming plurals in *-wā*, but there is no reason to assume that A *-klyu* was one of them. Rather *-āts* here simply follows the pattern described above; thus A *-kālywāts* reflects earlier *\*-kālywats* < CT *\*-klyāwætstse*. A further derivative adjective is found in East Tocharian, namely A *-klyum* in *ñom-klyum* 'renowned', through addition of the suffix *-um* to the stem *-klyu*. This is a late formation, as otherwise one might have expected *\*-klyom*. See also B *klyaus-* 'to hear' (A *klyos-*), B *klyomo* 'noble' (A *klyom*), B *klautso* 'ear' (A *klots*), B *klāw-* 'to be called' (A *klāw-*), B *klāwi* 'renown'.

B *kām-* 'to carry, bring, fetch' [forms a suppletive paradigm with B *pār-* and *ās-*] (pret. Iβ [1sg. med.] *kāmmai* (sic! for *kāmāmai*), [3sg. med.] *kāmāte*, [ptc.] *kakāmau*), A *kām-* 'id.' [forms a suppletive paradigm with A *pār-*] (subj. V [3pl. med.] *kāmantrā*,

[opt. 3sg. med.] *kāmitrā*, [abstr.] *kāmlune\**, [imp. 2sg. med.] *pkāmār*, pret. I [3sg. med.] *kāmat*, [ptc.] *kākm\**). Although *\*kāmā-* is exclusively a preterite stem in West Tocharian, and although one would generally not expect *ā*-umlaut to have taken place in East Tocharian subjunctives, the A subj. V *kāmā-* is not necessarily secondary, for instances of *ā*-umlaut can be found in such stems, e.g. A *māntlune* to *mānt-* 'to injure' or *pālatār* to *pāl-* 'to praise'. The *ā*-umlaut may have taken place in middle forms; note that *\*kāmā-* is only used in the middle. B *kāmā-* and A *kāmā-* reflect CT *\*kāmā-*. Already Meillet (*apud* Lévi in Hoernle 1916: 378) correctly associated this verb with Gk. *ῥέω* 'seized' (< *\*ῥεμ-*), *ῥεμίζω* 'I fill, load, carry', etc. CT *\*kāmā-* reflects IE *\*gom-* with a secondary addition of the *set*-root marker *\*-ā-*. See also A *kāmar* 'immediately'.

B *kām-* 'to come' (pres. X [3sg.] *kānmaṣṣām*, subj. II [stem] *sāmā/é-* with [3sg.] *sman-me*, [inf.] *samtsi*, [stem] *sānmā/é-* with [3sg.] *sanmām*, but also subj. I [stem] *kāmā-* [as underlying the privative *ekamātte*], pret. VI [3sg.] *sem*, [3pl.] *kameṃ*, *kmeṃ-ne*, but also pret. III [3pl. med.] *kamtsante*, past ptc. *kekamu*), A *kum-* 'id.' (pres. X [3sg.] *kumnāṣ*, [3pl.] *kumseñc* < *\*kumseñc* < *\*kumnāseñc*, [impf. 3pl.] *kumṣār*, subj. II [3sg.] *smāṣ*, [2pl.] *smāc*, [3pl.] *smēñc*, [3pl. med.] *smantār*, but also subj. I [stem] *kāmā-* with [imp. 2pl.] *pukmās*, pret. III [ptc.] *kakmu*). The alleged preterite VI A *kmā-m* (Sieg & Siegling 1921: 222, introduction to texts 399-404) is quite uncertain and of no value. While A *kum-* shows the regular outcome in that language of CT *\*kwām-* from IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>m-*, B *kām-* has suffered dissimilatory delabialization of *kw-* to *k-*. B and A *sām-* from CT *\*sām-* reflect IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>em-* regularly. A *-km-*, as in *pukmās* and *kakmu*, could reflect *-kwm-* (with post-syncope *-w-* not vocalized) < *\*kwām-* in internal syllable (but cf. also below). The present stem B *kānmāṣṣā-/ske-* (< *\*kānmāṣṣā-/ske-*), A *kumnāṣā-/sa-*, thus reflects CT *\*kwām-nāṣ(s)ā-/s(k)æ-*, based on an earlier *\*kwām-nā-* (probably an athematic stem in *\*-n-* [possibly *-nā-* < *\*-nu-*], not *\*-nH-*), whose simple unextended nasal suffix is analogically preserved in subjunctives such as B (3pl.) *sanmeṃ*, (abstr.) *sinmalñe*, etc. CT *\*kwām-nā-* reflects (as if?) IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>m-n-*. The subjunctive II stem B *sāmā/é-*, A *sāmā/a-*, reflects CT *\*sāmā/é-*, a thematic stem from IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>em<sup>eb</sup>-* that may reflect an old aorist subjunctive. Conversely, the subjunctive I stem B *kāmā-*, A *kwāmā-* (> A *-kwmā-* > *-kmā-* as if the stem was *kāmā-*), from CT *\*kwāmā-* (see above for the loss of the *-w-* here in B and, independently, in A), is an athematic stem, whose

initial accent implies an underlying reduplicated (perfect) structure,  $*(g^e-)g^m-$  (that would produce CT  $*kwāmā-$ ). It is also conceivable that the subjunctive I stem was B  $kāmā-$ , A  $kāmā-$ , from CT  $*kāmā-$  < PT  $*k^m-$  from IE  $*(g^e-)g^m-$  in pre-vocalic position. The preterite VI B [3sg.]  $śem$  from CT  $*śamā$  < PT  $*śam$  (with analogical  $-m$  for  $-n$ ) may reflect IE  $*g^em-t$ , a root aorist, with specific development of  $*-e-$  to  $*-ē-$  >  $*-æ-$  in a monosyllable (so Winter p.c.), but it might also reflect an IE  $s$ -aorist  $*g^ēm-s-t$ . A further possibility is an old Narten aorist  $*g^ēm-t$ , as suggested by Schindler (p.c.). B  $ekamātte$  'future, not arrived' is a privative formed to the subj. I stem B  $kāmā-$ . Etymology originally Pischel 1908: 933.

- A  $kāmar$  (adv.) 'instantly, at the same time' is found three times with that spelling, and once (presumably erroneously) written  $kāmār$  (cf. A  $kaśāl$  once beside frequent  $kaśal$  'conjoined with'). Van Windekens' (1976: 194) connection of this word with the verb BA  $kām-$  'to carry, bring, take' (q.v.) is probably correct.
- B  $kamart(t)āññe$  (m. [sg.]) 'sovereignty, rule', with adj.  $kamarttāññeṣṣe$  'pertaining to sovereignty', and  $kamart(t)īke$  (m.) 'sovereign ruler', and A  $kākmārt(t)une$  'sovereignty', adj.  $kākmārtuneṣi*$  'pertaining to sovereignty',  $kākmārtik$  'sovereign',  $kākmart$  'majesty', adj.  $kākmartṣi*$  'pertaining to majesty', rest, in my opinion, upon a borrowing from some foreign source. This is indicated by the accentuation, not only of B  $kamart(t)īke$ , with the clearly foreign suffix  $-ike$ , but also the accent of B  $kamart(t)āññe$ ,  $kamarttāññeṣṣe$ , cf. the accent of an indigenous word of somewhat similar syllable structure: B  $kāryōrttante$  (gen.sg.) to  $kāryōrttau$  'merchant'. One may reconstruct a CT  $*kākmārt(t)ā$ ,  $*kākmārt(t)ā-ññae$ ,  $*kākmārtīkæ$ .
- A  $kāmpo$  (indecl. adj. or adv.) 'together, joined' is attested only twice – both times in an idiomatic locution with forms of the verb  $nas-$  'to be', i.e.  $kāmpo nas-$  'to be together, be joined'. Van Windekens (1976: 203) suggests a compounded formation of  $kām-$  'to come' and  $po$  'all', but that is mere speculation and, indeed, phonologically unlikely, since CT  $*kwām-$  'to come' would in East Tocharian appear as  $kum-$  (see discussion under B  $kām-$  'to come' [A  $kum-$ ], where A forms in  $-km-$  are explained). Besides, the word formation would be left unexplained. Unclear.
- B  $kān-$  'to be realized, come about' (pres. I [3sg. med.]  $kantār$ , pres. IX [3sg. med.]  $knastār$ , subj. III [3sg. med.]  $knetār$ , [opt. 3sg.

med.]  $kāñtār$ , [ger.]  $knelle$ , subj. IV [opt. 3sg. med.]  $kñyoytar$  (sic; verse),  $kāñiyoytar$  (prose), pret. III [ptc.]  $kekenu$ , caus. pres. IX [ptc.]  $kanṣeñca$ , subj. IX [3sg.]  $kanaṣām-nne$  (MQ; Thomas 1978: 179 n.151), [2pl.]  $kan(āṣcer)$  (not  $kan(aṣcer)$  as suggested by Sieg & Siegling 1953: 20 n.1), pret. II [1sg.]  $kyānawa$ , [1sg. med.]  $kyānamar$  (sic, for  $kyānamai*$ ), A  $kān-$  'id.' (subj. [3sg. med.]  $knatrām$ , [opt. 3sg. med.]  $kñitār$ , [abstr.]  $knalune$ , pret. III [ptc.]  $kaknu$ , caus. pres. VIII [3pl.]  $kāmṣeñc$ , [3sg. med.]  $knāstār$ , [impf. 3pl. med.]  $kāmṣānt$ , [ptc.]  $kāmṣant$ , [ptc. med.]  $knāsmām$ , caus. subj. IX [1sg.]  $knāsam$ , subj. V [imp. 2sg.]  $pkāñā-ñi$ ). This verb forms three paradigms. First, a non-causative B pres. I ~ subj. III ~ pret. III (= A pres. unattested ~ subj. III ~ pret. III). Second, a causative B pres. IX ~ subj. IX ~ pret. II (= A pres. VIII ~ subj. IX ~ pret. unattested). Third, a non-causative B pres. IX ~ subj. IV (but A unattested). The forms of this third paradigm cannot be judged causative as indicated in the handbooks. The pres.  $knastār$ , attested in Sängim and Murtuq texts, reflects  $*kāñāstār$ , and thus contrasts with the causative  $kanṣeñca$  <  $*kāñāṣṣeñcā$  in the usual way. The optative  $kāñiyoytar$  also has non-causative accentuation (=  $kāñiyoytar$ ). The double optative sign ( $-i-$  and  $-oy-$ ) can be explained in the following manner: a subj. I was replaced by a subj. IV that originally was the optative formation to that very same subj. I (see discussion of this phenomenon in Hilmarsson 1991a: 87-88 in connection with B subj.  $lālyf-$ ). In order to form an optative to a subj. stem that already had the form of an optative, the obvious solution was to add the only other available optative marker to that stem, i.e.  $*kāñf-$  →  $kāñfy-oy-$ . The  $-ā-$  of the initial syllable is secondarily retained (or restored). The handbooks classify B  $kyānamar$  as a causative subj. V, but such a formation is impossible. The text in question is rather fragmentary, and cannot guide us as to whether this form is really a subjunctive or a preterite II. The following line contains a clear 1sg. preterite form, however, and would therefore support taking  $kyānamar$  as a preterite with an erroneous ending for  $-mai$ . In the East Tocharian causative subj. IX  $knāsam$ , the  $-ās-$  is regular and indicates ultimately the (previous) existence of a causative subj. V, as indeed found in the imperative form A  $pkāñā-ñi$  that – contrary to the handbooks – is a causative formally as well as semantically. Etymologically, B and A  $kān-$  were correctly associated by Poucha (1930: 324) with Gk.  $γίγνομαι$  'to become, be born', Lat.  $gignō$  'beget, produce', etc., to the IE root  $*gēnH_1-$  'to bear, beget'. Assuming that IE  $*-nH_1-$  resulted in Toch.  $*-ān-$  (differently from  $*-nH_2-$  and  $*-nH_3-$  that yielded Toch.  $-(ā)nā-$ ), the

Tocharian forms can be reconstructed as follows. The present I reflects the stem CT *\*kän-ä-* (with stem final *\*-ä-*, which was added to all monosyllabic athematic stems) from IE *\*ǵnH<sub>1</sub>-*. The stem *\*känä-* produced the form CT *\*känä-tär*, which, with regular loss of (even accented) *-ä-* after a resonant, resulted in B *kantär*. Furthermore, CT *\*känä-* provided the basis for the (non-caus.) pres. IX *\*känäššätär* > *\*känäštär* yielding B *knastär* regularly (with retention of the *-ä-* in a closed syllable). CT *\*känä-* is also the basis for the causative pres. IX (B) and VIII (A), i.e. IX *\*känäššä-* and VIII *\*känäšä-* resulted in IX B *kanäššä-* and VIII A *\*känäšä-* > *känšä-*. Of course, palatal epenthesis did not take place here in East Tocharian, since the original sequence was *\*-näš-*. The subj. III B *kne-*, A *kna-*, reflects CT *\*kän-ä-*, also with a zero grade of the root. The subj. IV optative, as explained above, is based on an original subj. I stem *\*kän-ä-*, identical to the pres. I stem. Finally, the East Tocharian causative subj. V stem (as seen in the imp. *pkänä-ñi* and underlying the subj. IX *knäsam*) reflects a CT subj. V stem *\*känä-/känä-*. This stem represents an IE perfect *\*(ǵe-)ǵonH<sub>1</sub>-/\*(ǵe-)ǵnH<sub>1</sub>-* with regular vocalization of the root-final laryngeal after the normal grade root and analogical vocalization in the zero grade of the same formation. See also A *-känše\** 'making come true'.

- B *kanamne\** '?' is a hapax of H 149. 328 a3 [śu]ke kan[a]m(ne). Quite unclear.
- B *känarñe\** (adj.) '?' is found three times in the Weber texts, always in the fem. nom./obl.pl. and qualifying *tsänkana* 'shoots, sprouts'. Filliozat (1948) reads *kätarñe\** while Broomhead (1962a and 1962b) has *känarñe\**. It is unclear to me, which reading is the correct one. Any etymological attempt is, of course, futile.
- A *kaniñ* of 352 b4, lege *katim* 'monk's garment'. From Skt. *kaṭina-* 'id.', see Sieg & Siegling 1921: 194 n.2, Isebaert 1980: 70.
- A *känkañ* '?' is a hapax of 264 a2 *sänāri känkañ waširššāñ*. It is unclear. Possibly the word-division is wrong.
- B *kañkau* could be a noun of unknown gender as found in P 1 b6, but it is possible that the form here is *kañkaušše\**, in which case it would be an endocentric adj. that presumably is also attested in 169 Š a2 *kañkau pai* (lege *kañkaušai*, Sieg & Siegling 1953: 93 n.2). The meaning is unknown (Broomhead 1962b: 78 suggests "an emetic?") and so is the etymology. Formally, B *kañkau* could

be a substantivized past ptc., or a neuter of the type B *šanmau* 'fettlers'.

- A *-känše\** (adj.) 'making come true, fulfilling' is an adj. of class II,4, a deverbative formation of the causative of the verb A *kän-* 'to be realized, come about'. Such verbal nouns are found in East Tocharian in compounds of the type *pälska-päše* 'thought-guarding' (cf. also A *käwälte* 'beautiful'). A *-känše* occurs in the compound *ākälk-känše\** 'wish-fulfilling' (attested are only plural forms), and reflects *\*-känäs-* plus an *n*-stem final *-e* whose precise preform has not been reconstructed with certainty. See also B *kän-* 'to be realized, come about' (A *kän-*).
- B *kānt-* 'to rub, rub off' (pres. VI [impf. 3sg. med.] *kanta-noy(t)är(r)*, subj. V [opt. 3sg. med.] *kāntoytär*, [inf.] *kāntatsi*, [abstr.] *kāntal(ñ)e\**). The root vocalism of the present stem may have been generalized from the B subjunctive, for one could have expected a zero grade vocalism in the nasal formation. The pres. stem *\*kāntānā-* (a prose form) might thus have replaced CT *\*kāntānā-*. The subj. V stem B *\*kāntā-* may have suffered *ā*-umlaut, and could therefore reflect CT *\*kāntā-*. This would require an IE *\*K<sup>(u)</sup>ñT-(H)-* and *\*K<sup>(u)</sup>onT-(H)-*, unless the vocalism of the subj. stem is structured after the present, in which case the subj. might represent earlier *\*K<sup>(u)</sup>noT-(H)-*. Should this last alternative be correct, a cognate might be found in OHG *knetan* 'to knead', OCS *gnetŭ* 'I press' to an IE *\*gnet-* 'to press'. Couvreur's suggestion (1950: 127) that B *kānt-* derives from either IE *\*ghen-* 'to gnaw; rub, scratch' or *\*ken-* 'to rub, scratch' is implausible, because these roots are not attested with a dental extension that would fit the Tocharian word. On the whole it must be stressed that the etymology is uncertain.
- B *kante*, A *künt* (num.) 'hundred', can as substantives form the plurals B *kāntenma* (class II,2) and A *kāntant* (class III,1), *kāntantu* (class III,2), implying genus *alternans*. From CT *\*kāntae* < IE *\*kñtō-m* < *\*dkñtō-m* 'hundred', cf. Lat. *centum* 'id.'. Etymology originally Smith 1911: 11. [See also B *šak* 'ten' (A *šāk*).]
- A *kanti* 'cord, rope' (cf. Couvreur 1955-56: 70, "Schnur beim Abmessen der Opferstelle") is a hapax of 359 18 III *šamyāprāso nīrargaḍa* | *kanti koštuneyo prā* III. Formation and inner Tocharian relations unclear. Etymology, in spite of Van Windekens (1976: 186-187), unclear.

- B *kanti* (obl.sg; gender unknown) 'a kind of bread or a baked product made of flour'. No association within Tocharian. Etymology unclear. Could be a loanword.
- B *kānts-* 'to whet, sharpen' (subj. V [inf.] *kāntsasi*, pret. Ib [3pl.] *kāntsāre*). The infinitive is attested in a fragmentary context, which allows no definite conclusion as to its meaning. The preterite, on the other hand, appears to guarantee the meaning, viz. 490 MQ III 5 *kṣuranma kāntsāre kṣānēmtsa* 250 'they whetted knives for 250 *kṣāna*'s'. It is unclear whether the *ā*-vocalism of these forms is conditioned by *ā*-umlaut or not, although that would be likely enough. One might therefore reconstruct a CT subj. *\*kēntsā-* and pret. *\*kāntsā-*. The *-t-* might be an insertion between *-n-* and *-s-* or it might be original. Further reconstruction and association with IE cognates is unclear.
- A *kānts-* 'to admit, recognize; make known' (caus. pres. VIII [1pl. med.] *kāntsāsamtrā*, [ptc.] *kāntsāśant\**). This verb is in the handbooks classified as a non-causative. However, as such it would be quite isolated formally (cf. Krause & Thomas 1960: 211). The element *-ās-* is otherwise found exclusively in East Tocharian causatives, more precisely, in causative subjunctives. In view of the pres. ptc. *kāntsāśant\**, one would have to accept that the subjunctive form functions as a present as well. Etymologically, this verb was correctly associated with A *āknats*, B *aknātsa* 'ignorant' by Pedersen (1941: 168sq.), cf. also Van Windekens (1976: 204sq.), viz. assumed to belong to IE *\*ǵneH<sub>3</sub>-* 'to know'. The details are complicated, however. As suggested by Winter (Schmidt & Winter 1992), it is reasonable to take A *kānts-ās-* as a causative stem to the non-causative verb A *kñas-* (q.v.) 'to recognize'. This latter verbal stem, as shown by Winter (o.c.), is a preterite stem (with the newly discovered form [1sg.] *kñasu*, beside the known [2sg.] *kñasāst\**), and while *-s-* could theoretically have been generalized from an (unattested) present stem, it would be more natural to assume that this highly irregular paradigm preserves an archaism. The sibilants of the two formations (A *kānts-* and *kñas-*) are hardly identical. While the preterite A *kñas-* < CT *\*kñās-* is probably best explained as an *s*-aorist reflex from IE *\*ǵnēH<sub>3</sub>-s-* (cf. Jasanoff 1988: 227sq., who posited an *ē*-grade present formation), the causative present (← subjunctive) VIII A *kānts-ās-* reflects CT *\*knās-ās-*, based on a (non-causative) present stem A *\*knās-*. One might suggest that A *\*knās-* derives from an IE present *\*ǵi-ǵuH<sub>3</sub>-sk-* with loss of the laryngeal in the reduplicated formation and, therefore, a development to CT

- \*kā-knā-s(k)-* (with *-nā-* instead of *-ān-* because of the analogical effect of the full grade forms of the verb) > *\*knās-* (with loss of the reduplication syllable as usual in Tocharian present and subjunctive stems). The discussion of A *kānts-* and *kñas-* in Hilmarsson 1991b: 98sq. is already in many respects outdated. See also A *kñas-* 'to recognize', A *knā-* 'to know', B *aknātsa* 'ignorant, unknowing' (A *āknats*), A *kñā-* 'to acknowledge, recognize(?)', B *nān-* 'to appear, be shown', B *nāne* 'pretense'.
- B *kāntsa* is a hapax of unknown meaning. The text runs: 388 MQR b7 ///(*śai*)*śsentise cēu preke takoy kāntsa kalpānma kānte=kṣnai sn[ai] ///*. Etymology unclear.
- B *kantsakarṣanne* (loc.sg., hapax), A *kamtsakarṣnam* (loc.sg., hapax), name of a metre. Possibly a loanword. Unclear etymology.
- B *kāntwāške-sa* (m. perl.sg. [hapax]) 'with the little tongue' is a diminutive formation in *-ške* (noun class VI,3c) to B *kantwo* (obl.sg. *kantwa*) 'tongue', q.v.
- B *kantwo* (m.), A *kāntu* (m.f.) 'tongue, language'. The gender is in both languages known only in the singular. In East Tocharian, masculine gender is attested twice, feminine only once and then juxtaposed to a feminine noun; it is therefore possible that the feminine gender of A *kāntu* is incorrect. B *kantwo* and A *kāntu* are of noun class VI,3ba (B [obl.sg.] *kantwa*, [nom.pl.] *kāntwāñ\** [implied by the perl.pl. *kantwamtsa*, cited by Thomas & Krause 1964: 179], A [nom.pl.] *kāntwāñ\** [implied by inst.pl. *kāntwāsyō*]), and reflect CT *\*kāntwā*, (obl.sg.) *\*kāntwā*. Note the compound A *ārśi-kāntu* 'Ārśi-tongue, (i.e.) East Tocharian'. An endocentric derivative to the oblique stem is B *kāntwāṣše*, A *kāntwāṣi* 'pertaining to the tongue', while A *ṣñi-kāntwāṣi* 'pertaining to (his) own tongue' may be formed to the nom.sg. CT *\*kāntwā* > early A *\*kāntwa*. Ultimately, CT *\*kāntwā* has suffered metathesis from *\*tānkwā* from IE *\*dṇǵh<sub>2</sub>ueH<sub>2</sub>* 'tongue', cf. Lat. *lingua*, older *dingua*, 'id.'. The obl.sg. CT *\*kāntwā* reflects IE *\*dṇǵhuH<sub>2</sub>-m*. The metathesis in Tocharian must have happened after the loss of voice distinction or else the dental media would have been lost in the position preceding *\*-w-*. Etymology originally Benveniste 1936: 235 n.1. See also B *kāntwāške-sa* 'little tongue'.
- A *kāñ\** '?'. There is only one certain attestation of this word, the inst.pl. *kāñsyō*, but there is also a single instance of an endocentric



adj. *kñāši* '?'. In both instances the word *yşam* 'trench, (Germ.) Festungsgraben' follows. Thus there is *kñāši yşam* in a Berlin fragment (Sieg & Siegling 1921: 222, introduction to texts 399-404) and *kñāšyo yşam* in 222 b5 (: *kñāšyo yşam wālam eşāk wās rarittwām šw(ā)tsintwām* : 'with *k*. he covered the trench over [and] mixed poison into the food'. It is difficult to see what is happening here, and Couvreur's suggestion (1955-56: 71) that *kñā-* means "etwa 'Stein'" is not conclusive. No etymology can be ventured at this point.

B *kāñ* (m. sg.) '?' may be a part of a plant or some material made of plants. It is attested in H 149. 45 b1 *epe kāñcelleşse kāñ išcemne tse(tseku)* 'or kiñjala *k*. burnt in clay'. According to Broomhead (1962b: 86) also in Gn. 2 a4.

B *kañiye* (sic! read *keñiye*), A *tkani* (adj.) 'of the earth, of the ground'. If Sieg & Siegling 1953: 377 n.20 are right that the hapax B *kañiye* should be read *keñiye*, this word could be the equivalent of the twice attested A *tkani*. The context of B *keñiye*\* is 592 M a5 *šaumō keñiye\* rine šem* that could be translated 'a man of the earth (= farmer) came to town'. The internal B -ñ- as against A -n- could be due to the eastern dialect tendency to palatalize -n- before a following -i- (the text is from Murtuq). B *keñiye*\* could thus imply CT *\*tkāniyā*. A *tkani* occurs as a qualifier with *top trānk*, possibly a compound, whose second part is of unclear meaning (possibly related to A *trūnk* 'hole, cave'), but whose first part means 'hole, mine'; it is therefore likely that this context implies 'a hole (of some sort) in the ground', i.e. A *tkani* 'of the ground, of the earth' from CT *\*tkāniyā*. If this is the correct definition, the lack of palatalization before the adjective suffix *\*-iyā* could be explained in one of two ways: either CT *\*tkāniyā* reflects PT *\*tkāmiyā* < *\*dhghom-iHo-*, with replacement of original -m- by -n- as in the entire paradigm of B *keñ*, A *tkam* 'earth', or, as suggested by Winter (p.c.), the -n- reflects *\*-my-* regularly. The latter alternative implies that the suffix was originally simply *\*-jo-* but was renewed as *\*-iyā*. See also B *keñ* 'earth, ground' (A *tkam*).

B *kāñm-* 'to sing' rather than 'to play' (pres. I [3sg.] *kañmām* (sic, for *kāñmām*), [3pl.] *kāñmem*, [ptc. med.] *kañmāmāne* (sic, MQ for *kañmamane*), subj. I [inf.] *k(a)ñmatsi*, [ger. fem.pl.] *k(a)ñmalona*\*). Unfortunately, the root vocalism of the subj. forms happens to be unreadable. Both forms are attested in eastern dialect texts (M): an -ā- would therefore imply initial accent and a

subj. V formation, while an -a- would imply suffixal accent and a subj. I formation. It seems safe, however, to opt for a subj. I, for presents of class I are characteristically and regularly accompanied by subj. I, while subj. V is unknown. As pres. and subj. I are athematic formations, there is no environment in which this verbal root could have been followed by a palatalizing -e- (except the 3pl., but B has generalized the thematic -em < *\*-ont* here), and it seems unlikely that palatalization from the optative (unattested) could have caused a generalization of a palatal stem in the entire paradigm. For this reason it is advisable to take *kāñm-* as a denominative formation and look for the cause of the palatalization in the basic nominal form. The sequence -ñm- can be either original or metathesized from -mñ-. The latter alternative is favoured by Van Windekens 1976: 194, whose etymological connection with Skt. *kām-* 'to love' is semantically inadequate, however, and does not account for the problems of palatalization as described above. In my opinion, the meaning of B *kāñm-* has been wrongly rendered with 'to play'. A translation with 'to sing' fits equally well, or even better, and has the advantage that a perfect etymological cognate can be found in Lat. *canō* 'I sing'. Thus we have: 2 Š b2 *wnolmi aknātsañ (ke)[r]y(e)m kāñmem spāntemnrā onwāññe saul* 'the ignorant beings laugh, sing (not 'play'), [and] believe [that] life [is] eternal'; 370 M b6 *[k](a)ñmatsi s(m)ī(c)e[r] o[t] īi keni[n]e* 'you (pl.) would sit on my knees to sing (not 'to play')'. The texts 613 X b2, 118 MQR a7 tell us nothing, and 370 M b2 *[k](a)ñmalonasa* stands isolated and need not be translated with '(Germ.) Spielsachen' (Krause 1952: 227, Thomas & Krause 1964: 180), but could as well be 'songs'. This concludes the verbal forms, but an abstract noun B *kāñme*\* (so in the handbooks; actually rather *kāñmo*\*, q.v.) is attested twice, viz. 389 MQR b3 */// (kā)ñm[em] (MQ for kāñmām) nañākā* 'songs (not 'games') and drama', and H 149. 40 a3 *šak<sub>u</sub>se k[ā]ñm[at] tsaipenne* 'in brandy, song [and] dances (he spent his time)'. With B *kāñm-* meaning 'to sing', an etymological association with Lat. *canere* 'to sing', OIr. *canim* 'I sing', etc., to an IE root *\*kan-* 'to sing', is quite plausible. As suggested above, B *kāñm-* would be best explained as a denominative formation. I propose that a neuter *men*-stem *\*kan-mñ* 'song' (cf. Lat. *carmen*) produced a PT *\*kānmān*; its oblique stem (with *e*-grade of the suffix) *\*kāñm'ān-* was generalized, yielding a nom.sg. *\*kāñm'ān* > CT *\*kāñm'ā(n)*. To this stem the athematic verb CT *\*kāñm'ā-* was formed, producing B *kāñmā-* regularly. For the abstract B *kāñmo*\* (not



*kāñime\** as given in the handbooks), see s.v. See also B *kene* 'melody, tune' (A *kañ*).

B *kāñmo\** 'song'; for that meaning, and not the traditional 'play', see B *kāñm-* 'to sing' (not 'to play'). This word is attested twice, once in the obl. pl. form (*kāñmēm*), but that occurs in an MQR text, so that it can stand for standard *\*kāñmaiñ*, and once in the obl.sg. *kāñmai*. Krause 1952: 227 evidently takes this latter form as an error for *kāñmēm*, but that is unnecessary. These forms imply a feminine noun of class VI,2 with nom.sg. *kāñmo\**, obl.sg. *kāñmai*, nom.pl. *kāñmáñ\**, obl.pl. *kāñmáñ\**. This noun reflects CT *\*kāñmo*, based on a neuter *men*-stem *\*kāñm'ān* (with generalized oblique stem form), ultimately reflecting IE *\*kan-mñ*, cf. Lat. *carmen* < *\*kan-mñ*. See also B *kāñm-* 'to sing', B *kene* 'melody, tune' (A *kañ*).

B *kāp-* 'to crave, want', A *kāp-* 'id.', see B *kāw-/kāp-* 'to crave, want' (A *kāp-*).

B *kapille* (m. [only sg.]) '±fever, sickness', with exocentric adj. *kapilletse\** 'having a fever, sickness', is probably to be analyzed as a nominalized verbal adjective. The underlying stem may be pres./subj. II (CT *\*kāpyā-*) or subj. IV (CT *\*kāpi-*). Adams' etymological association (unpubl.) with IE *\*kH<sub>2</sub>p-* (his *\*kap-*) 'to take, seize' is in my opinion correct. Differently from him, however, I would also associate B *kapille* ultimately with B *kāw-*, *kāp-* 'to desire' (A *kāp-*), q.v. Differently Isebaert 1981[83]: 261 (IE *\*k<sub>u</sub>ōl<sub>ap</sub>-e-ljo-*), based on Van Windekens 1976: 194-195. See also A *kāwālte* 'beautiful', B *kāwo* 'desire, craving' (A *kāwas*), A *kāpñe* 'dear, beloved'.

A *kāpñe* (adj.) 'dear, beloved', (subst. m.) 'beloved' is indeclinable as an adjective, but as a substantive it has the plural *kāpñeñ*. Derived from an unattested subj. VII stem A *\*kāpñā-* to A *kāp-* 'to crave, desire'; see B *kāw-*, *kāp-*. For the final *-e*, cf. A *kāswe* 'good, well'. In *sandhi* the *-e* may appear as *-y*. A derived abstract is A *kāpñune* 'love', of neuter class III,2. See also B *kapille* 'fever', B *kāwo* 'desire, craving' (A *kāwas*), A *kāwālte* 'beautiful'.

A *kapsañi* 'body', see B *kektseñe*.

A *kar* 'even, indeed, (Germ.) doch, schon' is an emphatic particle of relatively frequent occurrence. It is composed of two particles and derives from earlier *\*karā* with *-rā* identical with the enclitic B *ra* < *\*rā*, cf. also A *-r* in *mar* 'and not'. A *kar* < *\*karā* < CT *\*k<sub>é</sub>-rā*

reflects in its first element an IE *\*gho* with regular development of that form when joined with an enclitic, cf. again the parallel A *mar* < CT *\*m<sub>é</sub>-rā* < IE *\*m<sub>ē</sub>* 'not'. If not compounded with an enclitic, IE *\*gho* yielded CT *\*kā*, as *\*m<sub>ē</sub>* yielded CT *\*mā*. CT *\*kā* thereupon yielded enclitic B *ka* (A *-k* ?), q.v. The hapax A *ka* is a scribal mistake for *kar*. See also A *ka*, B *-k* (A *-k*), B *ñake* 'now', B *ñke* 'but', B *taka* 'then, indeed', B *yaka* 'still, yet'.

A *kār\** 'pit, hole(?)', see B *kāre* 'pit, hole'.

B *kār-* 'to collect, gather' (subj. V [1sg.] *kārau*, [inf.] *kāratsi*, pret. Ibß [3pl.] *karāre*). All attested forms of this verb have (or may have) suffered *ā*-umlaut. The vocalism of the preterite is presumably analogous to that of the subjunctive. For CT one may reconstruct subj. V *\*k<sub>é</sub>rā-* and pret. I *\*k<sub>á</sub>rā-* (presumably for zero grade *\*k<sub>á</sub>rā-*). CT *\*k<sub>é</sub>rā-* reflects an *o*-grade perfect stem IE *\*((H<sub>2</sub>)ge-)(H<sub>2</sub>)gor-* to the root *\*((H<sub>2</sub>)ger-* 'to collect, gather', cf. Gk. *ἀγείρω* 'I gather'. Etymology originally Van Windekens 1949: 301. See also B *<sup>1</sup>kār<sub>k</sub>-* 'to steal, take away', B *kārkauca* 'robber'.

B *kārak\** (m. sg. [presumably n.]), A *karak\** (hapax) 'branch, sprout' (316 a1 (*a*)ñclis *karkā tsink sāseyu klyāt* 'he stood erect(?) leaning on the branch of the bow'). B *kārak\** is the form to be posited, not *karāk* as in the handbooks. It occurs once in the (obl.) sg., MQ *karak*. The plural is attested twice, MQ *karakna* and Š *karākna*. The Šorčūq form implies a regularly accented *kārak*, not *karāk*. The equivalent is A *karak\** (so, not *kark* as in the handbooks), found only once in the perl.sg. *karkā* that has regularly syncopated the vowel of the second syllable. A *karkā* < *\*karak-ā* implies nom.sg. *karak\** < *\*karāk*; *ā*-umlaut did not take place in A in this word, while it did in B. This would imply a CT preform *\*k<sub>é</sub>rāk-*. B *kārak\**, pl. *karākna*, indicates class II,1. It may be suggested that this word was originally a neuter *men*-stem, and that the plural *\*karāk-mnā*, before metathesis took place, was reduced to *\*k<sub>á</sub>rāk-nā*. That may have happened already in CT and entailed the loss of the *-m* in the singular analogically. IE connections are doubtful. One might suggest derivation from IE *\*gherH<sub>1</sub>-* 'to sprout, protrude' found with various extensions (*\*-d-* [OHG *graz* 'sprout'], *\*-n-* [Scr. *grāna* 'branch'], etc.), cf. also B *krorīyai* (obl.sg.), A *kror* 'horn (of the moon)', q.v., < IE *\*ghreH<sub>1</sub>-*. That is, CT *\*k<sub>á</sub>rāk-* might reflect as if IE *\*ghorH<sub>1</sub>-K-*. See also B *karāše\** 'forest' (A *kārās*), A *karke* 'branch, foliage'.

B *karāse\** (m. sg.), A *kārās* (f. sg.) 'forest, wood' is presumably a noun of class V,2 (B obl.sg. *karās*). It is usually assumed that this word is a borrowing from Khot. *karāśśa* 'growth of creepers, lianas'; indeed, the lack of reduction in the second syllable of A *kārās* appears to favour a recent borrowing. However, that borrowing may have been from West Tocharian at a time when the form was still *\*kārāse*, obl.sg. *\*kārāsā* in that language. If B *karāse\** is not a borrowing itself (from Khotanese), it might within Tocharian be derived from B *karak\** 'branch'; a CT *\*kārāsæ* (as if from IE *\*ghorH<sub>1</sub>-K-ēn*) would yield B *karāse\** regularly. The meaning may have been 'place of branches, thicket', *vel sim.* The interpretation of Isebaert (1980: 197; < *\*korH<sub>1</sub>-ōnt-iH<sub>2</sub>*), while possible as far as the root is concerned, is difficult phonologically with regard to the two suffixes: one might have expected a trace of the nasal in West Tocharian as well as a reflex of the *-iH<sub>2</sub>*. A *kārāsnu\** (41 a1 *kārāsānw oki*) appears to be an adjective in *-nu-* to *kārās* (type A *ākārnu* 'tearful'). See also B *karak\** 'branch' (A *karak*), A *karke* 'branch, foliage'.

B *kare* (adj.), A *kār* (adj.) 'good'. Normally, these words are found only in the constellations B *kare perne*, A *kār parām* 'good dignity', B *kare pernetstse*, A *kār parnu\** 'having good dignity'. Once only, B *kare* is free-standing (591 S b2). The translation of B *kare*, A *kār*, with 'good' is not the one given by the handbooks. There, we find the gloss 'dignity, rank', and B *kare perne*, A *kār parām* translated as *dvandva* compounds 'rank [and] dignity'. However, the accentuation of B *kāre pērne* excludes a compound, in which case one would have expected B *\*kārē perne* > *\*krē-perne* (cf. possibly *kre-mot* if 'good alcohol'). The fact that *kare/kār* does not inflect is no obstacle to viewing it as an adjective, cf. B *ite* 'full' that is also indeclinable and many others. A further indication that B *kare* and A *kār* really mean 'good' may be seen in A *krats* 'good' that can be interpreted as an extended form of A *kār* < *\*kāra*. A *krats* has been seen as an error, but it may well be authentic, cf. 24 b5 *caṣ krats spaktānyo* translated by Sieg 1944: 29: "Durch diesen guten Dienst ...". A further occurrence of *krats* may be 372 a3, and an abstract *kratsune\** 'goodness' is found in 247 b1. If B *kare*, A *kār*, is not 'rank, dignity', the etymological relationship with Skt. *guru-* 'heavy, important' and the derivation from IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>ṛH<sub>2</sub>os-* (Gk. *βάρος* 'weight'), as proposed by Van Windekens 1972[74]: 143, is less plausible; indeed, it was always impossible, because the labiovelar ought to have been reflected and this would have given the forms B

*\*kware*, A *\*kur*. The correct translation of this word with 'good' was proposed by Winter 1968: 61sq. (= 1984: 279sq.). Winter also saw that this word is the "missing" nom.sg. to the obl.sg. B *krent*, A *krant* 'good'. The nom.sg. final of IE *nt*-stems has in Tocharian been largely reshuffled and/or ousted. In B *walo*, A *wäl* 'king' the final reflects either a secondary *\*-ōn* or possibly a remade *\*-ōnt-s* for IE *\*-ont-s* (cf. Lubotsky 1994: 70). In the adjectival stems in B *-āu*, *-ēu*, A *-o*, or agent nouns of the type B *kāryorttau* 'merchant', the nom.sg. final reflects a zero grade *\*-nt-s*. The IE nom.sg. final *\*-ont-s* has not been identified in Tocharian as yet, but it would not seem unlikely that it yielded B *-e*, A *zero*, and that, therefore, B *kare*, A *kār* 'good' would reflect CT *\*kāræ* < IE *\*k<sub>ṛ</sub>H<sub>2</sub>-ont-s*, the nominative to the obl.sg. B *krent*, A *krant* < CT *\*kāræntā(m)* < *\*k<sub>ṛ</sub>H<sub>2</sub>-ont-m*. See also A *krats* 'good', B *kārtse* 'good', B *kārtsauñe* 'good deed, merit', A *krāntso* 'beautiful', B *krentauna* 'virtues', B *kremot\** 'quality alcohol(?)'.

A *1käre* (f. [or m.??]) 'sword' is a noun of class VI,4 (pl. *kāreñ*). Its gender is fem. in the plural; in the singular it is unclear whether the only attestation should be interpreted as a masc. form, or of unknown gender. The relevant text (246 a4) has *caclunt kāreyo koṣāntām* where the obl.sg. masc. *caclunt* could qualify the preceding masc. noun *kāṣṣim*, i.e. either 'the teacher (obl.) carrying [and] killing with the sword' or 'the teacher killing with the sword that he carries'. As with other nouns in A *-e* of this class, the origin of the final vowel is unclear. However, there are indices that it somehow reflects an *n*-stem final. Etymological assessment is difficult. Assuming that this A *käre* (≠ CT *\*kārān-*) is not a loanword (which it may be, but no obvious source presents itself), one might connect it either with IE *\*keH<sub>1</sub>(i)-* 'to whet, sharpen' and posit an *n*-stem formation to an earlier thematic CT *\*kāræ* from IE *\*koH<sub>1</sub>ro-* 'sharp', cf. Arm. *sur* 'sharp'. Or one might – with Van Windekens 1970b: 430 – assume an *ō*-grade formation to the IE root *\*(s)ker-* 'to cut' (cf. Goth. *hairus* 'sword') with an *ō*-grade attested in, e.g., MHG *schuor* 'cut', OIcel. *skōra* 'fight' (< Gmc. *\*skōrijōn*). The first alternative implies that there would be no genetic relationship with B *kertte* 'sword'.

B *2käre* (m.), A *kār\** (gender unknown) 'pit, hole' is in West Tocharian a thematic noun of class V,1 (nom.pl. *kāri* [G-Su 1]). The form *kārre* occurs once, whereas the form *käre* is attested three times; presumably the geminate has no relevance. A *kār\** is a *hapax* of the fragment 316 a8 *kāram lmo* 'having sat in a hole' (if correctly translated so). Reflecting CT *\*kāræ*, these words may

derive from IE *\*ǵhoH<sub>2</sub>ro-* to the root *\*ǵheH<sub>2</sub>-* 'to open wide; open space', cf. Gk. *χῶπος* 'empty space, interval', *χῶπα* 'free space, land; empty eye-socket'. Etymology originally Van Windekens 1966a: 250. See also B *kor* 'throat', B *kaumiye* 'lake'.

B *³kāre\** '?', *hapax* attested (464 MQ 3) in the gen.sg. *kārentse*, could be a personal name, but it could be many other things as well. Quite uncertain.

A *karel* (gender unknown) 'drum, tambour' is attested twice in the recently published Yaqui texts, cf. Pinault 1990: 174sq. As pointed out by Pinault, A *karel* has the appearance of a deverbative action noun in -l, cf. *lkāl* 'view' to *lākā-* 'to see'. Pinault's conclusion seems inevitable that *karel* must be formed to A *kar-* 'to laugh', a verb which provides the only verbal stem in -e in East Tocharian to which a gerundival abstract in -el could be formed – even though the semantics is not as coinciding as one might wish. It seems possible, however, that the trilling sound of the tambour was perceived as – or likened to – laughter, so that the meaning of *karel* can be seen as secondary to that of the verb. In West Tocharian, the cognate but differently formed word for the tambour is *keru* (q.v.). See also B *kery-* 'to laugh' (A *kary-*).

B *karep* (m., only sg.), A *kāryap* (gender unknown) 'damage, harm' appears to be a neuter of class III,2 (A loc.pl. *kāryapāntwam*). The reduction of A -ya- to -yā- > -i- in internal syllable before a following full vowel is regular, viz. A all.sg. *kāripac*. If B *karep* from *\*kārēp* is to match A *kāryap* one must assume a reduction of B -ry- to -r- which is not an expected change. This, along with the strange structure of this word and lack of obvious IE cognates, would indicate that the CT preform *\*kāryæpā(n?)* is not an indigenous word. A likely source has not been pointed out, however.

B *kariške* (gender unknown) '?' is a noun of class III,1 (pl. *kariškenta*) and therefore probably neuter. The plural in -enta is exceptional with words containing the diminutive suffix -ške. This word occurs twice. In the fragment 430 M 4 mention is made of 'new k.', while in 558 Š b1 the text runs: *šar pattitrukälle* [= *pattitrukälle*] *kariškenta wārpanamane tākam* 'the hand that will give the honour will be enjoying the k.'. Formally, *kariške* could be a diminutive to a *\*kāri* (nom.pl. or obl.sg.?). Possibly 'fruit, harvest' and connection with the verb B *kār-* 'to gather, collect'?? Unclear.

B *karītsñe* (*hapax*) '?' is an abstract in -ñe (and, therefore, probably neuter of class III,1) to an adj. in -tsts- (*\*karītstse\**) to a noun (presumably obl.sg.) *\*kāri*. In its context one might guess that *karītsñe* means 'heat', *vel sim.*, but that is quite uncertain: 100 Š b2 *pwärmeñ laññi krostañe war karītsñe riñi(trä)* 'from the fire cold water would emerge, [it] would leave the k.'. Etymological speculation is futile.

A *kark*, see B *kārāk\** 'branch, sprout' (A *karak\**).

A *kärk* (*hapax*; gender unknown) is a name of some part of the body, possibly 'neck', but this is uncertain. Attested in 166 a4 *kāts kärk nīmām* 'stomach, neck(?), back of the head(?)'. Clearly no etymology is ascertainable; the meaning 'neck' is prompted by the 'Gleichklang' with Czech *krk* 'throat', Van Windekens 1976: 205 with lit.

B *¹kärk-* 'to steal, take away' (pres. VI [ptc.] *kärknamane*, [vb. adj.] *kärkänamo*, subj. V [inf.] *karkatsi*, pret. Iaß [3sg. med.] *kärkäte*), A *kärk-* (*hapax*) 'id.' (pres. VI [inf.] *kärnätsi*). The pres. VI forms of West Tocharian are cited by Broomhead 1962b: 72 under *kärk-* 'to tie', but both fit better in the paradigm of B *kärk-* 'to steal, take away'. I have not had an opportunity to check B *kärknamane* (PK 15 D a2), but the context of *kärkänamo* is as follows: BM 1 (= BM 163) b6 *kice cai stwore [śno] kärkänamo* 'when the rākṣasī snatching the woman away (from the fire?)'. The reading may be unreliable. Underlying are CT pres. VI *\*kärkänā-*, subj. V *\*kärkā-*, pret. I *\*kärkā-*. All forms reflect zero grade of the root, so that it is unclear whether the root was of the structure *CReC-* or *CeRC-*. Plausibly connected with Lat. *grex* (gen.sg. *gregis*) 'herd, multitude' by Van Windekens 1976: 205. To an IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>greg-* 'to collect', cf. (without tectal extension) Gk. *ἀγείρω* 'I collect'. For the semantics, cf. B *lyak*, A *lyäk* 'thief' and Gk. *λέγω* 'I collect' (Pinault p.c.). See also B *kärkauca* 'robber' (or 'binder' to B *²kärk-* 'to bind'), B *kārša* 'mouse(?)', B *kār-* 'to gather, collect'.

B *²kärk-* 'to bind, connect' (pret. Ia [ptc. obl.sg. m.] *kärkoš*, [nom.pl. fem.] *kärkkauwwa*, caus. pret. III [ptc.] *kekkärkü*), A *kärk-* 'id.' (caus. subj. VII [1sg.] *kärkñam*, pret. III [3pl.] *šarkr-äm*, [ptc.] *kakärku*). The East Tocharian paradigm is causative formally, cf. discussion in Hilmarsson 1991b: 68sq. B and A *kärk-* reflect CT *\*kärk-*, a zero grade to the IE root *\*kerǵh-* 'to bind', cf. Lith. *keřgti* 'to tie, bind'. Etymology originally Fraenkel 1932: 229.

The labiovelar is shown by the rounding in A *śorkmi* 'strings' (see B *śerkw* 'id.'), while the preterite A *śarkr-ām* has preserved non-umlauted *-a-* due to morphological analogy. See also B *kerketse* 'fetter', A *kärkšim* 'fetter', B *śerkw* 'string' (A *śorkām*\*).

B *kärkünamo*, see B *¹kärk-* 'to rob, take away'.

B *kärkauca* (*hapax*) 'robber' or 'binder' (?) is a *nomen agentis* of adj. class II,3, formed to the past ptc. or perhaps rather to the subj. V stem *\*kärkā-* through the addition of suffixal *-uca* (cf. B *yāṣṣūca* 'requester' to subj. II *yāṣṣā-* rather than to past ptc. *yayaṣṣu*). While B *kärk-* 'to rob, take away' definitely formed a subj. V, the non-causative subj. formation of B *kärk-* 'to bind' is unclear. In its context *kärkauca* could belong to either verb: H add. 149. 89 a8 (*pi*)lko *palsko kärkauca* 'robber/binder of sight and thought'. The suffixal *-uca* presumably contains a reflex of the IE perfect ptc. suffix *\*-ut-*, extended with the agentive suffix Toch. *\*-ā* < IE *\*-H₂*. The palatalization is unclear, but cf. the *nomina agentis* in B *-ñca* formed to the present ptc. in *\*-nt-*. See also B *¹kärk-* 'to rob' (A *kärk-*) and B *²kärk-* 'to bind' (A *kärk-*).

A *karke* 'branch; foliage (?)' is a noun of class VI,4 (abl.pl. *karkes-āṣ*). It is usually cited with B *karāk* (recte *kārak*, q.v.), but cannot be its formal equivalent. A *karke* is from *\*karāke*, derived from A *\*karāk* (> *karak*\*, see A *kark*); the final *-e* of class VI,4 still defies precise analysis, but it is presumably an *n*-stem final. See also B *kārak*\* 'branch, sprout' (A *karak*\*), B *karāse*\* 'forest' (A *kārās*).

B *kärkkälle* (m. [sg.]), A *kärtkāl* (m. [sg.]) 'pond, mire' is in East Tocharian of noun class V,1b (nom.pl. *kärtkālyi*, loc. *kärtālsam*). According to Broomhead 1962b: 72, there is one occurrence with unassimilated B *-rtk-* (PK 15 A a5). These words are probably to be viewed as gerundive formations (which explains the palatalization in the nom.pl. A *kärtkālyi*) to the subj. V stem *kärtkā-* of a verb *kärtk-*. See discussion under B *kärtk-* '?'.

A *kärkšim* (m. obl.sg.) 'fetter' is a substantivized adj. in *-ši* and has the plural *kärkšināñ*. Gender is ascertainable only in the singular, but the plural ending is that of the feminine. Formed to an unattested noun A *\*kärk* 'rope', derived from the verb A *kärk-* 'to bind, tie'. See also B *²kärk-* 'to bind' (A *kärk-*), B *kerketse*\* 'fetter', B *śerkw* 'string' (A *śorkām*\*).

A *kārme* (adj.) 'right; upright' is in the handbooks translated with 'true', but this is incorrect as seen by 315 a7 *kārme kapsiñño* 'with

an upright body' (so translated by Sieg 1952: 29). In all other instances 'right' can replace 'true', viz. 'right saying', 'right path', 'right word'. This adj. is only found in the nom. and obl.sg. The plural *kārmeyāntu* functions as a noun (neuter of class II,2) and has the meaning 'truths' or probably more precisely 'the right things or ways'. This adj. is clearly related to the postposition A *kārmeñ* 'toward, right up to'. Conceivably, their formal relationship is of the same order as that of A *śpālme* and *śpālmeñ*, both meaning 'excellent'. A *kārme* has produced the unattested adj. *\*kārmets* as seen in its derivative abstract *kārmetsune* 'that which pertains to correctness, truth' (class III,2 noun with pl. *kārmetsunentu*). Should A *kārme* be secondary to *kārmeñ*, one might derive their final syllable from A *\*-meññ* < *\*-māññā* < CT *\*-māññiye*, and view the formation itself as an adjectival *\*-iye* derivation from a *men*-stem (cf. A *klyomim* (fem. sg.) 'noble' < *\*-māññā*). The meaning 'right; upright' instead of 'true' excludes the possibility that A *kārme* could somehow be a borrowing, reflecting Skt. *karman-* (so Pisani 1942-43: 244). Van Windekens' association (1976: 195) with Lat. *crementum* 'growth' lacks semantic credibility. It seems better to connect A *kārmeñ* 'toward, right up to' within Tocharian to the semantically close A *korpā* 'against, toward' and the verb A(B) *kārp-* 'to descend'. The basic meaning of this root was 'to turn (to)', easily inferable in A *kārmeñ*, while in A *kārme* one would have to think of a development to 'directed toward' and from there to 'direct' to 'right; upright'. The phonological and word-formational development can be seen as follows: the CT verbal stem *\*kārpā-* produced an abstract *men*-stem neuter *\*kārpā-mā(n)* (type B *sānmau* 'fetter' < *\*sānmā-mā(n)*), accompanied by an animate or adjectival *\*kārpā-mān-* to which an adjectival *\*kārpā-māñ-iye* was formed. The final suffix was at some point syncopated and assimilated, and the resulting *\*kārpāmāññā* yielded A *\*kārpāmāññā* > *\*kārpāmeññā* > *\*kārpāmeññ* > *\*kārpāmeñ* > *\*kārpmeñ* > *kārmeñ* with loss of the internal *-p-* as in the present stem A *kārnaṣ* < *\*kārpnaṣ*. See also B *kārp-* 'to descend' (A *kārp-*), A *korpā* 'against, toward', B *kwārp-* 'to attend to'.

B *kärn-* 'to beat, strike; afflict' (pret. Iaṣ [ptc. abstr.] *kārnor*, caus. pres. IX [3sg.] *karnāṣṣām*, [ptc.] *karnāṣṣeñca*), A *kärn-* 'id.' (caus. pres. VIII [ptc.] *kärnāsmām*, subj. IX [abstr.] *kärnāṣlune*, pret. II [3sg.] *kakrām*, [ptc.] *kakärnu*). The A pret. *kakrām* is regular from *\*kakārām* < *\*kakärnā*. The meaning is 'to beat, strike' and 'to strike, afflict', but not necessarily 'to destroy'; e.g., in A 312 b3

this verb applies to the beating of musical instruments; in A 320 a5 it is used of beings afflicted with hunger. The association with Skt. *śṇāti* 'breaks, destroys' (originally Duchesne-Guillemain 1941: 144) to IE *\*ker-H-* 'to break apart, be destroyed' is therefore semantically somewhat distant. Furthermore, B *kärr-* 'to scold, reprimand' with pres. VI CT *\*kärrā-* < *\*kärnā-* indicates that *-rn-* was assimilated to *-rr-*. It would be better to take BA *kärn-* from CT *\*krän-* (pres. *\*kränā-*), and – with Adams (unpubl.) – derive this verb from the IE root *\*kreu-H-* 'to beat, strike; afflict', cf. OIcel. *hryggr* 'afflicted' (< Gmc. *\*hrewwa-z*), OE *hrēowan* 'to sadden, afflict', and (extended with *-s-*) Gk. *κρούω* 'I beat, strike', etc. Thus CT pres. *\*kränā-* reflects IE *\*kru-n-H-*, and the nasal has been generalized in the paradigm as so frequently in Tocharian.

- B *kārp-* 'descend, step down' (pres. IV [3sg. med.] *korpotār*, [impf. 3pl. med.] *korpyentār*, subj. V [3sg.] *kārpam*, [inf.] *kārpasi*, pret. Ibβ [1sg.] *karpāwa*, [ptc.] *kakārpau*, caus. pres. IX [3sg. med.] *kārpāstrā* (MQR), subj. IX [opt. 1sg.] *kārpāšsim*, pret. IV [2sg.] *kārpāšasta* (MQ), [ptc.] *kakkārpāšsu\**), A *kārp-* 'id.' (pres. VI [3sg.] *kārnaš*, [ptc.] *kārnmām*, subj. V [abstr.] *kārplune*, pret. I [2sg.] *kārpašt*, [3sg.] *kārp*, [ptc.] *kākārpū*, caus. pret. IV [ptc.] *kākārpšū\**). In the East Tocharian present stem, the cluster *-rpn-* has been reduced to *-rn-*; in the subj. stem, *kārplune* has suffered syncope in an internal syllable (< *\*kārpālune*), and in the pret. stem, reduction of the internal syllable has taken place in the participles. In lack of an etymological connection that would permit the positing of an unconditioned Tocharian *ā*-vocalism, it seems necessary to assume that the radical *-ā-* in this verb has spread to the present from the preterite and the subjunctive, where it arose by *ā*-umlaut. Although *ā*-umlaut is usually not found in the East Tocharian subjunctive, it is nevertheless attested in a few verbs, of which *kārp-* would be one. In West Tocharian, the generalized *ā*-vocalism led to the transfer of this verb to present class IV, the class favoured by *ā*-verbs. In East Tocharian, the (old?) nasal present formation was retained, except that *ā*-vocalism replaced the expected zero grade. There have been two different etymological proposals concerning this verb. One associates it with OIcel. *hrapa* 'to fall precipitously, behave rashly', MLG *rapp* 'quick', etc., to IE *\*(s)kreb-*, an extension of *\*(s)ker-(H)-* 'to spring' (Van Windekens 1962a: 180). While the *Schwebeablaut* (OIcel. *hrap-* vs. Toch. *kārp-*), though uncomfortable, may not be an insurmountable obstacle, the semantics is,

in my opinion, unsatisfactory. B and A *kārp-* show nothing of the precipitous movement implied by OIcel. *hrapa* and family. The second proposal is therefore preferable; namely, Van Windekens' earlier connection (1941: 30) with OIcel. *hverfa* 'to turn, disappear', OS *hwerban* 'to turn, turn back', OHG *hwerban*, *hwerfan* 'to turn, return', etc., to an IE *\*kyerp-* 'to turn'. The semantic connection is supported by the deverbative A *korpā* (adv.) 'against, turned towards' (a perl.sg. to A *korp\** < *\*korpa* < *\*karpa* < CT *\*k'ærpa*), formed to A *kārp-* as, say, *koṭāk\** 'embodiment' to *kutk-* 'to embody'; for details see A *korpā*. In Tocharian this root has acquired the *seṭ*-root marker *\*-ā-*; a perfect *\*(kye-)kyorp-* produced the CT subj. *\*k'ærpa-ā-* > BA *kārpā-*, while the present may have been a nasal formation *\*kwārp-n-ā-* that was replaced in both languages, cf. above. See also A *kārme* 'right, upright', A *korpā* 'against', B *kwārp-* 'to attend to'.

- B *kārpiye\** (adj.), A *kārpi* (adj.) 'common, ordinary, unrefined, ignoble' is an adj. of class I,1 (B pl. *kārpi*). B *kārpiye\** is a prose form (gen.pl. *kārpīyemts*), but the verse form alternant is *kārpīye*. Probably correctly associated with OIcel. *hrjúfr* 'crude, rough', OE *hrēof* 'crusty, rough, leprous', OHG *riob* 'leprous', all from Gmc. *\*hreufa-*, and OHG *ge-rob* > Germ. *grob* 'gross, rude' from Gmc. *\*hrufa-* to an IE root *\*kreup-* 'crust, (form) a crusty surface' (originally Van Windekens 1970a: 166). That is, B *kārpiye\** and A *kārpi* reflect CT *\*kārpiyā* < *\*krāpiye* < as if IE *\*krup-(i)jo-*.
- B *kärr-* 'to scold, reprimand' (pres. and/or subj. V [1sg. med.] *kärrāmar*, [3sg. med.] *kärrātār*, [ger.] *kärräll(e)*, pret. Ia [3sg. med.] *kärrāte*). The forms *kärrāmar* and *kärrāte* are listed by Thomas & Krause 1964: 182 without indication of origin. The meaning as given here is not evident from the examples known to me, but the handbooks seem to have no doubts. The *-rr-* is assimilated from *\*-rn-* and has been generalized throughout. CT probably had a pres. VI *\*kärnā-*, subj. V (*\*kärā-l*) *\*kārā-*, pret. I *\*kārā-*. Precise etymological classification is difficult. Possibly either to IE *\*(s)ker-H-* 'to swing, throw', cf. Skt. *kirāti* 'he throws, scatters', OHG *scerōn* 'to be petulant', MLG *scheren* 'to mock', Engl. *scorn*. For the semantics, cf. Germ. *vorwerfen* 'to accuse, reprimand'. Etymology proposed originally by Van Windekens 1970c: 527. Or to IE *\*(s)ker-H-* 'to cut', cf. Skt. *kṣāti* 'cuts, wounds, kills' (the Gmc. words cited above might belong here too). Etymology originally Couvreur 1950: 128. In either

case B *kārrā-* would be a regular nasal infix formation to a root in final laryngeal. There may be further etymological alternatives. [See also B *skārr-* 'reprimand; threaten'.]

B *kārre*, see B *kāre* 'pit, hole' (A *kār\**).

B *kārs-* 'to know, understand' (pres. VI [3sg.] *kārsanam*, subj. V [1sg.] *kārsau-ne*, [inf.] *karsatsi*, [imp. 2sg.] *pkārsa*, [2pl.] *pkarsaso*, pret. Iaß [1sg.] *šārsāwa*, [ptc.] *kārsau*, caus. pres. IX [3sg.] *šārsāššām-ne*, subj. IX [opt. 3sg.] *šārsāšši*, pret. II [3sg.] *šārsame*), A *kārs-* 'id.' (pres. VI [3sg.] *kārsnāš*, [ptc.] *kārsnānt*, impf. [3pl.] *šārsar*, subj. V [3sg.] *krasāš*, [3pl.] *kārseñclikāse*, [imp. 2sg.] *pākras*, pret. I [3sg.] *šārs*, [3pl.] *kra(sa)r*, [3sg. med.] *kārsāt*, [ptc.] *kārso*, caus. pres. VIII [2sg.] *šārsāšt*, pret. II [3sg.] *šārsārs*). These paradigms reflect CT pres. *\*kārsānā-*, subj. *\*krāsā-l\** *kārsā-*, pret. *\*šārsā-l\** *kārsā-*. Furthermore, the A impf. *šārsar* reflects an intensive-iterative preterite from early CT *\*šāsārsā-*, of a type found only rarely in B (e.g. [1sg.] *lyakāwa* to *lāk-* 'see'), cf. Hilmarsson 1990: 111sq. The subjunctive full grade form A *kras-* for expected *\*kars-* is presumably secondary on the model of the type A *pār-* ~ *prak-* 'to ask'. The preterite plural stem form A *krasā-* has probably replaced the expected zero grade secondarily, as seen by the lack of *ā*-umlaut in the (originally) unaccented root syllable. Imperatives of this verb without prefixed *p(ā)-* occur, cf. Ringe 1989: 51sq. B caus. pret. II [3pl.] *šārsāre* occurs in Lévi A 3 b5, but the text has MQ characteristics and, therefore, this form surely stands for standard *šārsare\**. A verbal adj. A *kārsām\** 'knowing' of class II,5 (gen.sg. *kārsāmāntāp*) is formed to the subj. V stem, cf. also the verbal abstract BA *kārsor* 'knowing'. An agent noun B *kārsauca\** 'knower' is formed to the subj. V stem (cf. discussion under *kārkaucā* 'robber'). CT *\*kārs-* reflects the zero grade of IE *\*(s)ker-s-*, cf. Hitt. *karš-* 'to cut off, mutilate'. Van Windekens (1941: 26) made the connection with IE *\*(s)ker-* of which *\*(s)ker-s-* is an extension. See also B <sup>1</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut off, destroy' (A *kāršt-*), B <sup>2</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut to pieces, cut up'.

A *kārsām\** 'knowing', see B *kārs-* 'to know' (A *kārs-*).

B *kārsauca* 'knower', see B *kārs-* 'to know' (A *kārs-*).

B *karse* (m. sg., *hapax*) 'stag, antelope(?)' seems to be a thematic noun of class V,1. Its meaning, unfortunately, is not quite certain. It occurs in the following context, where we have a sort of enumeration of the Buddha's *lakṣaṇas*: 75 H al *ysāšše ramt karse*

*mlyuweñc*, translated by Adams (1983a: 611 n.2) with 'thighs like a golden stag' on the basis of a Chinese list of *lakṣaṇas*. This particular *lakṣaṇa* is not found in the Pāli or Sanskrit lists. Adams then proceeds to derive B *karse* from an IE *\*k<sub>1</sub>rH<sub>2</sub>só-*, a derivative of the neuter *\*k<sub>1</sub>érH<sub>2</sub>-s* seen in Gk. *κέρας* 'horn'. This association implies a development of interconsonantal IE *\*-rH<sub>2</sub>-* to Toch. *\*-ār-* and not to *\*(ā)rā-* as usually considered normal. In my opinion, B *karse* is too uncertain to warrant that conclusion. First, the meaning is not ascertainable beyond doubt. Second, even if the meaning is correctly posited as 'stag', B *karse* could be formed to the same root as Skt. *kṛṣṇá-* 'black', *kṛṣṇa-* '(black) antelope'; note Buddhist Hybrid Skt. *aiṇeyajaṅgha-* 'having legs like a black antelope'. If so, B *karse* would reflect IE *\*k<sub>1</sub>rśó-*. Witczak's connection (1990: 51sq.) of B *karse* with a putative Hitt. *karšaš* 'locust, grasshopper' is invalid: the Hittite word must be read *mašaš*, cf. Poetto 1991a: 57sq.

B *kārsk-* 'to let fly, shoot, throw' (pres. II [ptc.] *kārskemane*, [ger. fem. sg.] *kāršalya*, pret. Iaß [3sg.] *karšša*, [ptc.] *kekarššu*). I agree with Adams (p.c.) that the cited present forms belong here, and not, as maintained in the handbooks, with B *kār-* 'to bind'. The latter alternative would involve unnecessary scribal mistakes, and the paradigm of B *kār-* would be abnormal. The ptc. *kārskemane* resolves the question of the origins of the *-šš-* of the preterite forms (wrong Winter 1977: 139sq. = 1984: 185). I disagree, however, with the traditional etymological interpretation (Couvreur 1950: 129) of this verb as deriving from IE *\*k<sub>1</sub>rH-*, as seen in Skt. *kirāti* 'pours out, scatters, throws', whose laryngeal might cause difficulties in Tocharian. I see a more precise connection in Lith. *skriėti* (pres. *skriėja* for *skreja\**) 'to fly (around)', Latv. *skriet* 'to fly' to IE *\*(s)krei-* 'to fly, move (in a non-linear way)'. B *kārsk-* from CT *\*kārsk-* < *\*krāsk-* reflects then as if IE *\*(s)kri-sk-*. See also A *-krase* 'flight, shot'.

B <sup>1</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut off, slice; destroy' (pres. VI [3sg.] *karsnam*, [3sg. med.] *kārsnātrā*, subj. V [3sg.] *krāstām* (sic! for *krāstām*), [inf.] *karstatsi*, [imp. 2sg.] *pkrāsta*, pret. Iaß [1sg.] *kārštāwa*, [ptc.] *kārštāu*), A *kārst-* 'id.' (pres. VI [3sg.] *kārsnāš*, subj. V [abstr.] *kārštālune*, pret. I [3sg. med.] *kārštāt*, [ptc.] *kāršto*). In both languages *-t-* is lost in the present stem between *-s/-š-* and *-n-*. The subj. V stem B *krāstā-* for expected *kārstā-* is presumably formed under the influence of verbs of the type B *pār-* ~ *prek-*, cf. A *krasā-* for expected *karsā-* to the verb A *kārs-* 'to know', unless one assumes that IE *\*CersC-* was regularly metathesized to

\**CresC-*. The subj. V stem produced the privative B *enkarstatte\** (*hapax*); the retention of the nasal of the prefix indicates suffixal accentuation in the underlying subj. stem. This paradox can be solved by assuming suffixal accent in the middle (*kārstā-*) vs. root accent in the active subj. V stem (*kārstā-*), cf. Hilmarsson 1991a: 72. An agent noun B *kārstauca* 'one who cuts off' is formed to the subj. V stem (cf. discussion under *kārkauca* 'robber'). Etymologically, B <sup>1</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut off, slice, destroy', along with <sup>2</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut up', reflects the zero grade of IE *\*(s)ker-s-*, cf. Hitt. *karš-* 'to cut off'. The *-t-* of Toch. *kārst-* may be a root extension (as if IE *\*(s)ker-s-t-*), or it may indicate an original denominative formation to a participial *\*(s)krs-tó-*. Etymology originally Duchesne-Guillemin 1941: 145. See also B *kārstauca* 'one who cuts away', B *kārstau\** 'interruption', B *kārstautstse\** 'stammering', B <sup>2</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut to pieces, cut up' (A *kāršt-*), B *kārs-* 'to know' (A *kārs-*).

B <sup>2</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut to pieces, cut up' (subj. IV [3pl.] *kārśyeñ* (= *kārśyeñ-ñ* [verse form]), pret. Ia [ptc. nom.pl. fem.] *kekarśwa*). The definition of *kārśyeñ-ñ\** as a subj. IV seems most natural in its context, where this form follows another subj. form. An optative to a subj. II, as suggested in the handbooks, seems semantically less likely. A subj. IV formation implies an earlier subj. I (or II) formation (cf. Hilmarsson 1991a: 86-88). The ptc. *kekarśu\** agrees in formation with a subj. II *\*kārśā-*, cf. B *kelyaušu ~ klyaušā-*. Theoretically, the attested forms in *kārś-* could imply a verbal root *kār-* or *kārst-* (cf. Winter 1977: 140 = 1984: 185). The possibility of an etymological association with B <sup>1</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut off, destroy' would favour the latter alternative. The forms in B *kārś-* could thus reflect either *\*kārśc(y)ā-*, a thematic stem in *-ā/-e-* or *-yā/-ye-*, or it might reflect an athematic *\*kārstā-*, with palatalization arising in the subj. IV formation and spreading to the past participle. Etymologically, B <sup>2</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut up', along with <sup>1</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut off, slice', reflects the zero grade of IE *\*(s)ker-s-*, cf. Hitt. *karš-* 'to cut off'. The *-t-* of Toch. *kārst-* may be a root extension (as if IE *\*(s)ker-s-t-*), or it may indicate an original denominative formation to a participial *\*(s)krs-tó-*. See also B <sup>1</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut off' (A *kāršt-*), B *kārs-* 'to know' (A *kārs-*).

B *kārstau\** (gender unknown) is found only in the compound *snai-kārstau* 'without interruption'. This is a *men-*stem, presumably a neuter, formed to the subj. V of the verb B <sup>1</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut off', reflecting *\*kārstā-m* < CT *\*kārstāmā(n)*. The adj. B *kārstautstse\**

'stammering' (*q.v.*) is thereupon formed to *kārstau\**. See also B <sup>1</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut off' (A *kāršt-*).

B *kārstauca* 'one who cuts off, destroyer', see B <sup>1</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut off' (A *kāršt-*).

B *kārstautstse\** (adj.) 'stammering' is a *hapax* found in 282 MQR a2 *kārstau[ts]tsai weśēññaisa* 'with a stammering voice'. It is formed to an underlying B *kārstau\** 'interruption, cutting off', found only in the compound *snai-kārstau* 'without interruption'. See B *kārstau\**.

B *kārś-*, see B <sup>2</sup>*kārst-* 'to cut to pieces, cut up'.

B *-kārśa* (gender unknown) is found only once in the compound *arśa-kārśa* 'bat' or '(Germ.) Spitzmaus' (see discussion below), translating Skt. *maṇḍilya* (for *mantilya*) in a list of the names of the animals of the calendrical cycle: 549 Š a6 *maṇḍilya · arśakārśa*. Lüders (1933: 1012sq.) argues that, although the Sanskrit term apparently denotes the flying fox, that animal was absent in Central Asia, so that the text's *maṇḍilya* can be seen as having the meaning 'bat'. Lüders also points out that in the calendrical cycle the bat is placed where one would expect to find the mouse or the rat. Although Lüders does not doubt that *arśakārśa* is a designation of the bat, it seems possible that it actually is simply a designation of some species of the mouse. B *arśakārśa* has been without a convincing etymology. Van Windekens (1976: 150) suggests a connection of *arśa-* with Thrac. *ἄργιλος* 'mouse', deriving *arśa-* from early B *\*arkya* (i.e. my notation *\*ārkyā*). However, *arśa-* in *arśa-kārśa* inevitably reflects CT *\*ārśā-* and that form cannot reflect IE *\*arǵi-* because a tectal is not palatalized by a short *\*-i-* in Tocharian. Instead, it might be suggested that *arśa-* from CT *\*ārśā-* reflects IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>erdi-* 'sharply pointed, sting' as seen in Skt. *ali-* 'bee, scorpion', Gk. *ἄργις* 'point, sting', OIr. *aird* 'point, sting', etc., in which case B *arśa-kārśa* could be understood as '(Germ.) Spitzmaus' or – if the meaning is really 'bat' – it could mean 'the animal that is characterized by something that is pointed', e.g. 'having pointed ears', or 'having claws on the wings', *vel sim*. In that scenario, the second member *-kārśa* would mean either 'mouse' or be a designation of some body-part of an animal. If the meaning is 'mouse', one might think of a connection with the verb B and A *kār-* 'to steal'. Then B *-kārśa* would be 'the stealer' → 'mouse' from *\*kārśyā* from (as if) IE *\*H<sub>2</sub>greg-iH<sub>2</sub>*. See discussion of this verb under B *kār-* 'to



steal' (A *kärk-*). If *-kārśa* means 'having ears' or 'having wings', one might think of a connection with the IE root *\*(s)ker-* 'to cut' that has produced many words denoting various body-parts, in particular body-parts that are characterized by skin or skin-folds, see Pokorny 1959: 938sq. for abundant examples. E.g. Skt. *kārṇa-* 'ear' could belong here; the second member of B *arśa-kārśa* – if 'having pointed ears' – would then reflect CT *\*-kārśyā* from (as if) IE *\*k<sub>ṛ</sub>-tiH<sub>2</sub>*, but one would have to assume that CT *\*ārśā-kārśyā* has been assimilated from *\*ārśā-kārçyā* (< *\*-rtiyā*) or *\*ārśā-kārtsā* (< *\*-rtiyā*).

A *kārskäntu* (f. pl.) 'playful games', presumably a neuter of class III,2, is a hapax of 70 b3 *mkältorñeṣim sāleyunt kārskäntu* that Sieg (1952: 44) translates "(Wenn du) die reizenden Spielereien(?) der Kleinen (siehst(?))" with reference to the Sanskrit text's *kṛḍantau vanagulmeṣu*. Unclear.

B *kärtk-* '?' (non-caus. or caus. pres. IX [3sg.] *kärtkäṣṣām* (MQR), pret. III [ptc. abstr.] *kekärtkor\** (in the derived adj. *kekärtkoreṣṣe*). Unfortunately, the meaning of this verb is entirely uncertain, viz. the contexts: 259 MQR a1 *k<sub>u</sub>se [o]ñtn(e) kärtkäṣṣām* with *oñtn(e)* a hapax of unknown meaning, and PK 12 K b6 *tuñänma kekärtkoreṣṣe (spel)* 'blossoms [and] k. pill'. Speculation as to its origins is quite futile, even if one wished to connect it with B *kärk(k)älle* (once with *-rtk-*), A *kärtkäl* 'pond, mire'. These words have the appearance of being gerundive formations to the subj. V stem *kärtkā-* of a verb *kärtk-*. But a derivative with the meaning 'pond, mire' does not clarify the primary meaning of the base verb. There would be many possibilities, e.g. 'to split' → 'crevice, pond' (IE *\*(s)ker-t-*, Van Windekens 1976: 208), or 'to make wet or dirty' → 'pond, mire' (IE *\*sker-d-*, Adams unpubl.), or 'to plait' → 'peat, turf, mire', etc. There are probably even more possibilities. See also B *kärkkälle* 'pond, mire' (A *kärtkäl*).

B *kärtsauñe* (n.) 'good deed, merit' is an abstract in *-wñe* (the alternant of *-ññe*) of noun class III,1 (pl. *kärtsauñenta\**). The form *kärtsomñenta\** shows an eastern dialect feature. It is presumably formed to the substantive rather than the adjective B *kartse* 'good' and reflects CT *\*kärntsaw-ññæ*, earlier (as if) *\*käräntsäm-ññæ*, cf. Winter 1990 for the suffix. See also B *kare* 'good' (A *kär*), A *karts* 'good', B *kartse* 'good', A *kräntsō* 'beautiful', B *krentauna* 'virtues', B *kremot\** 'quality alcohol'.

B *kartse* (adj.) 'good', (subst.) 'goodness, virtue, benefit' is matched functionally in the nominative singular by the unrelated A *kāsu*, q.v. Other forms of the East and West Tocharian paradigms are cognate, viz. obl.sg. B *krent*, A *krant*, gen.sg. B *kreñcepi*, A *krantāp*, du. B *kreñc*, *kartsī*, nom.pl. B *kreñc*, A *krañc*, *krañś*, *krañś*, obl.pl. B *krentām*, A *krañcāṣ*, gen.pl. B *krentamts*, A *krañcāṣṣi*, fem. nom.sg. B *kartsa*, obl. B *kartsai*, A *kräntsām*, nom./obl.pl. B *krenta*, A *krant*, gen. B *krentamts*. In compounds, B has the form *kärtsē-*, e.g. *kärtsē-rita* 'seeking good', *kärtsē-yami* 'doing good'. An endocentric adj. B *kärtsēṣṣe* 'having virtue/goodness as its innate quality' is formed to the substantive B *kartse* 'goodness, virtue'. The stem form of B *krent-* and A *krant-* reflects CT *\*käränt-* from IE *\*k<sub>ṛ</sub>H<sub>2</sub>-ont-*, cf. below. The original nom.sg. masc. was IE *\*k<sub>ṛ</sub>H<sub>2</sub>-ont-s* > CT *\*käræ(n)* as regularly reflected in the relic forms of B *kare*, A *kär* 'good' (q.v.); however, these forms were mostly ousted except in the specific locution B *kare perne*, A *kär parām* 'good dignity, good rank'. A *kär* was replaced by the unrelated *kāsu* (q.v.), but survives in the extended form A *krats* 'good' (q.v.), while B *kare* was replaced by *kartse*. B *kartse* is a masculine back-formation to the feminine *kartsa*. The latter reflects CT *\*käräntsā* > *\*kärntsā* through regular loss of (even accented) *-ä-* in the position after *-r-*. The preform *\*kärntsā* lost the interconsonantal *-n-* in West Tocharian and yielded the attested feminine form B *kartsa* on which the masculine *kartse* was modelled. In East Tocharian an anaptyctic *-ä-* was secondarily inserted in the cluster *-rnts-* producing anew the form *\*käräntsā* which thereupon resulted in the A fem. sg. *kränts\**, unattested but ascertainable through the obl.sg. fem. *kräntsām*. The fem. CT *\*käräntsā* reflects IE *\*k<sub>ṛ</sub>H<sub>2</sub>-nt-iH<sub>2</sub>*. Other forms of the paradigm are regular reflexes of a stem in *\*-ont-*, viz. obl.sg. B *krent*, A *krant* < CT *\*käräntä(n)* < IE *\*k<sub>ṛ</sub>H<sub>2</sub>-ont-nt*, nom.pl. B *kreñc*, A *krañc* < CT *\*käræñcä* < IE *\*k<sub>ṛ</sub>H<sub>2</sub>-ont-es*, etc. Etymologically, these Tocharian words may be connected with OIr. *carae* 'friend' < *\*karants* < *\*karonts* < IE *\*k<sub>ṛ</sub>H<sub>2</sub>-onts* (originally Pedersen 1925: 28). Other possibilities exist, e.g. to IE *\*gher(H)-* 'rejoice in' with Skt. *hāryati* 'desires' (Van Windekens 1964a: 232), but a morphologically identical formation, as found in OIr. *carae* is not provided by the known descendants of IE *\*gher-*. Roots in initial IE labiovelar plus *-ṛH-* are excluded, as this would be expressed in Tocharian by *kw-/ku-* or *k<sub>u</sub>-*; therefore Specht's (1947: 128 n.1) connection with Lith. *gėras* 'good' is impossible (*\*g<sub>ṛ</sub>H<sub>2</sub>-ont-* would yield B *\*k<sub>ṛ</sub>rent-*), cf. also Pinault 1979[80] who compares Lat. *grātus*, etc. See also B *kare* 'good' (A



kär), A *krats* 'good', B *kärtsauñe* 'good deed, merit', A *kräntso* 'beautiful', B *krentauna* 'virtues', B *kremot\** 'quality alcohol'.

- B *karveṃ* is a *hapax*, attested in a badly damaged fragment, 584 MQ a9. This fragment has many instances of *v* for *w*, and *ṃ* for *ñ*. It is therefore possible that *karveṃ* simply stands for *kärweñ*, the obl.sg. of *kärweñe* 'stone'.
- B *kärwämts\** (gen.pl., gender unknown) 'reeds, straw' is attested in MQ texts in the forms *kärwas* and (*kä*)*rw(a)ts*, the gen.pl. to a nom.sg. that could be *\*kärwo*, *\*kärwā*, fem. of noun class VI,3b. A *kärwaṃ* of 12 a4 is traditionally seen as the locative to a corresponding nom.sg. A *kru\**. However, the translation of A *kärwaṃ* with 'in einer Röhricht' (cf. Pedersen 1941: 121, Sieg 1944: 15) is problematic, as the context definitely seems to require 'in a gorge', *vel sim.* K.T. Schmidt (1969: 466 n.7) suggests that *kärwaṃ* and the following *saṃ* should be read as a single word *kärwaṃsaṃ* and translated with 'on the rocks', whereby this word would be a match of B *kärweñe*, q.v. The derived endocentric adj. B *kärwäṣṣe*, A *kärwāṣi* 'reed-' can have been formed to a class VI,3b obl.sg. *\*kärwā*. One could then posit a CT *\*kärwā*, obl. *\*kärwā*. It seems likely that Isebaert is right (1980: 209) in proposing an association with Av. *grauua-* 'Rohrstab, Stock' to an IE root *\*g<sup>(u)</sup>ru-*. This would imply that CT *\*kärwā* comes from earlier *\*krāwā* < IE *\*g<sup>(u)</sup>rey-eH<sub>2</sub>* (if this was the genuine normal grade) or zero grade *\*g<sup>(u)</sup>ruy-eH<sub>2</sub>* (with Lindeman's variant?), acc.sg. *\*g<sup>(u)</sup>rey-H<sub>2</sub>-ṃ*/*\*g<sup>(u)</sup>ruy-H<sub>2</sub>-ṃ*, while the Avestan word could be a *vṛddhi* derivative to the zero grade.
- B *kärweñe\** (gender unknown), A *kärwañ\** 'stone, rock' are nouns of class V,2 (B obl.sg. *kärweñ*, nom.pl. *kärweñi*, A loc.pl. *kärwaṃsaṃ*). Endocentric adj. B *kärweñäṣṣe* 'rocky, stony'. The East Tocharian form is a *hapax*, and has traditionally been read *kärwaṃ* 'in einer Röhricht', followed by a separate word *saṃ*. However, that translation of A *kärwaṃ* (cf. Pedersen 1941: 121, Sieg 1944: 15) is problematic, as the context definitely seems to require 'in a gorge', *vel sim.* K.T. Schmidt (1969: 466 n.7) suggests that *kärwaṃ* and *saṃ* should be read as a single word *kärwaṃsaṃ* and translated with 'on the rocks', whereby this word would be a match of B *kärweñe*. This is in my opinion quite correct. The etymological association with Skt. *grāvan-* 'stone for pressing Soma', OIr. *bráu* 'mill-stone', etc. (originally Van Windekens 1960: 39), is bound to be correct, but hitherto the phonological details have not been cleared. However, by accepting

a metathesis of *\*-H<sub>2</sub>u-* to *\*-uH<sub>2</sub>-* in this word, all the pieces of the puzzle fall into place. Thus, an IE *\*g<sup>(u)</sup>ruH<sub>2</sub>on-* was changed to *\*g<sup>(u)</sup>ruH<sub>2</sub>on-* (> *\*g<sup>(u)</sup>ruyon-*), which thereupon yielded quite regularly CT *\*k<sup>w</sup>rāwān-*. This stem was at some point in Tocharian history extended with an *\*-ēn/\*-en-* suffix with palatalizing effect on the preceding nasal. Thereupon metathesis of *-rā-* to *-ār-* took place as expected, which produced the form *\*k<sup>w</sup>ärwāñæ*. One might have expected *\*k<sup>w</sup>* to survive here as *kw-*, but dissimilation caused this form to change into *\*kärwāñæ*. This then produced B *kärweñe\**, and A *kärwañ\**, as would be expected. See more detailed discussion of the development of the initial labiovelar under B *kulyp-* 'to desire' (A *kulyp-*). See also B *krāmār* 'load, weight', *kramārtstse\** 'heavy, difficult' (A *krāmārts*).

- A *kāry-* 'to consider, deliberate' (caus. pres. VIII [3sg. act.] *kāryāṣ*, subj. IX [abstr.] *kāryāṣlune*). Although this verb is not attested in non-causative forms and there is no corresponding West Tocharian verb, it is overwhelmingly likely that the causative pattern A pres. VIII ~ subj. IX would presuppose a non-causative pres. III (or the complementary IV) ~ subj. V, or possibly the less frequently encountered pattern pres. VI (or other nasal present formations) ~ subj. V. With this in mind, and on the supporting evidence of the adj. *kāryatsum* 'having the intention' (q.v.), one might posit a non-causative pres. III *kārya-* ~ subj. V *kāryā-*, reflecting CT *\*kārya-* ~ *\*kāryā-*. These forms reflect IE *\*kri-* in pre-vocalic position, yielding CT *\*kāry-* (< *\*k<sup>ri</sup>i-V-* or rather *\*k<sup>ri</sup>i-V-* with regular development of *\*-ri-* > *\*-rā-* > *\*-ār-*), whose structure was transferred to pre-consonantal position as well. The Tocharian forms may have been based on the zero grade perfect (= Toch. subj.) forms, but the subj. marker *-ā-* (cf. *kāryāṣlune*) has been secondarily added in this verb. The IE root is *\*(s)kri-*, cf. Lat. *cernō* 'I decide' (pf. *crēvī*), etc. Etymology originally Pisani 1942-43: 245. See also A *kāryatsum* 'having intention' and A *kārye* 'consideration, worry'. Not related to B *kāryāñ* 'hearts', and probably not to A *kri* 'will' (*contra* Van Windekens 1976: 209, 235).
- B *kāry-* 'to buy, trade, negotiate' (pres. X [3sg. med.] *kārnāsträ*, [ptc. med.] (*kārn*)*āskemane*, subj. VI [inf.] *kārnātsi*, [abstr.] *kārnālñe*, pret. I [1pl.] *kāryām*, [2sg. med.] *kāryātai*, [1pl. med.] *kāryānte*, [past ptc.] *kāryau*, [obl.sg. m.] *kāryoṣ*). Original present stem *\*kārnā-* has been relegated to subjunctive function, while in the present the old stem has been extended with an *-sk-* suffix. The subj. stem *kārnā-* (← pres. *\*kārnā-*) < CT *\*kārnā-* < *\*krānā-*

(with regular development \*-rā- [> \*-r- ?] > \*-är-) < \*k<sup>w</sup>rānā- < IE \*k<sup>w</sup>ri-n-(e)H<sub>2</sub>-. Preterite stem *käryā-* < CT \**käryā-* < \**kräyā-* < \**k<sup>w</sup>räyā-*/\**k<sup>w</sup>riyā-* < IE \*k<sup>w</sup>riH<sub>2</sub>-, cf. Gk. *πρίασθαι* 'to buy, trade', OIr. *crenaim* 'I buy'. For a more detailed account of the development of the initial labiovelar in this word, see discussion under B *kulyp-* 'to desire' (A *kulyp-*). Etymology originally Meillet *apud* Lévi in Hoernle 1916: 378, and Lidén 1916: 19. Discussions in Schindler 1967: 240, K.T. Schmidt 1982: 365, Lindeman 1987: 301. See also B *karyor* 'trade' (A *kuryar*), B *käryorttau* 'trader, merchant' (A *kuryart*), with derivatives.

B *käryāñ* (nom.pl.; [hapax]) 'hearts' is probably correctly translated this way, rather than '± will' after A *kri* 'will', cf. B H 149. 14 a4 *šememts käryāñ pruknāntrā räskre māka tsärkalyi* 'the hearts of some (i.e. the sick and dying) are bounding [and] they are very heavily tormented', even though B *arañce* is the general term for 'heart'. Probably identical with A *kri* (m. in sg., but gender unknown in pl.) 'will' (but in 115 a4 *käryāñ* is probably 'worries') of noun class VI,3b, implying a stem in IE \*-i-eH<sub>2</sub>, acc.sg. \*-i-H<sub>2</sub>-, cf. A abl.sg. *käryās*, nom.pl. *käryāñ*. B *käryāñ*, implying a sg. *käryo*\*, obl. *kärya*\*, and A *kri* (< \**kāri* < \**kārya*, obl. \**käryā*) agree in reflecting a CT \**käryā*, obl. \**käryā*, from IE \**k<sup>w</sup>rd-jeH<sub>2</sub>*, \*-iH<sub>2</sub>- 'heart', cf. Gk. *καρδία* 'heart'. Etymology already Sapir (1936: 263). A *kri* 'will' could theoretically belong with the verbal root A *käry-* 'to consider', but hardly B *käryāñ*. Usage as seen in A *käryā-loiklune* 'misericordia' or *puk āñmäs käryās* 'of all (your) soul (and) heart/will' would also advise grouping A *kri* with B *käryāñ*. Therefore, A *käry-* with family (*q.v.*), in spite of Van Windekens 1976: 209, 235, is to be kept apart from B *käryāñ*, A *kri*.

A *käryatsum* (adj.) 'having intention'. This is an adj. in -um (class II,5), formed to an exocentric adj. \**käryats* (CT \**käryætstsæ*), which, in turn, since adjectives in -ts- are not formed directly to verbal stems, derives from a (thematic?) noun \**kārya*. This noun derives from the putative pres. III stem \**kārya-* (to A *käry-* 'to consider, deliberate', *q.v.*). See also A *kärye* 'worry'.

A *kärye* (obl.sg.; gender unknown) 'consideration, worry'. Formed deverbatively to A *käry-* 'to consider, deliberate'. Possibly from early A \**käryai*, the obl.sg. to a putative \**käryo* as if from IE \**kriyōn*. See also A *käry-* 'to consider' and A *käryatsum* 'having intention'.

B *karyor* (sg. tantum; gender unknown), A *kuryar* (sg. tantum; gender unknown) 'trade, buying'. Derived exocentric adjective B *käryortste*\* [hapax] 'having to do with commerce'. Clearly related to the verb B *käry-* 'to buy', these words are not the synchronically expected verbal abstracts to that root. As implied by the past ptc. B *käryau*, a regularly formed verbal abstract ought to have had second-syllable accent, not initial accent as B *karyor*. It is therefore unlikely that B *karyor*, A *kuryar*, are formed with a suffixal \*-ur with contraction across the labial continuant, cf. Þórhallsdóttir 1988: 194. Rather, one must assume a formation with a simple \*-r. The initial ku- of A *kuryar* implies a CT initial \*kw- whose labial element presupposes a following \*-ä-. Thus, the initial syllable must have been CT \**kwär-*, whose labial was secondarily disposed of in West Tocharian on the analogy of the verbal root *käry-* (where the labial loss was regular in pre-consonantal position). The retention of \*kw- in East Tocharian can be seen in connection with the loss of the verb in that language. The suffixal vocalism, B -o-, A -a-, indicates CT \*-ä-, which – as it cannot be a contraction product – must reflect IE \*-ä- < \*-eH<sub>2</sub>-. Thus B *karyor* (for \**kwaryor*), A *kuryar*, reflect CT \**kwäryār* (possibly formed to an unattested normal grade preterite stem) as if from IE \**k<sup>w</sup>rijeH<sub>2</sub>-r*. See also B *käry-* 'to buy' and B *käryorttau* 'merchant' (A *kuryart*).

B *käryorttau* (m.), A *kuryart*\* (m.), 'merchant, trader'. *Nomina agentis* derived from B *karyor*, A *kuryar* 'trade'. B *käryorttau* is of noun class VII (obl.sg. *käryorttant*\*, gen.sg. *käryorttante*, nom.pl. *käryorttañc*), while A *kuryart*\* has acquired the adj. class II,3 inflection (obl.sg. *kuryartān*\*, nom.pl. *kuryartāñ*) through loss of the internal syllable \*-ānt-, probably due to a syncope of the vowel. These words reflect CT (nom.sg. m.) \**kwäryārttāwā* (final from IE \**-uñts*), (obl.sg.) \**kwäryārttāwānt-ā(m)*, through contraction of \*-āwā- to \*-ā- (cf. Þórhallsdóttir 1988: 198). The geminate reflects IE \*-t-; gemination of suffixal consonants is regular in Tocharian when preceded by accent. In East Tocharian degemination of all consonants took place later (but new geminates arose still later!). The suffix conglomerate CT \*-itā-wānt- reflects IE \*-iH<sub>2</sub> + \*-uñt-. The derivative B *käryorttañne* (name of a metre) reflects \**käryorttānt-* plus adj. suffix \*-(ā)ñne through (syncope? and) assimilation. See also B *käry-* 'to buy', B *karyor* 'commerce' (A *kuryar*).

A *käs* (gender unknown) 'watering, irrigation (?)' is a noun that is attested three times. Its meaning has been unclear. Couvreur

(1955-56: 71) has suggested that the allative *ksāc* means "(etwa) herüber", but this would imply separating *ksāc* from the nom./obl.sg. *kās*, which one might hesitate to do. I do not claim that the meaning suggested here, i.e. 'watering, irrigation', is certain, but it fits well in all three attested instances and enables an attractive IE etymological connection. The attestations are as follows. First, 63 b4 *nakānt nātsentu puk wrasāṣṣi puk tkamsam : sne wleṣluneyo sne psāl sne kās* 'dangers were obliterated [and] for all men in all earths uncultivated, unsprinkled, unwatered (rice [or some such edible growth] was provided[?])', i.e. '... (rice that grows) without having to be cultivated, sprinkled, watered', cf. 2 a5 *sne wāwleṣu sne psāl klu naktām* 'the uncultivated, unsprinkled rice was lost for them'. Second, 91 b2 *māny aśok ṣtām lkāṣ ṇy oki ksāc kālymām rātram pyā(pyāñ)* is difficult to translate, perhaps: '... the aśoka-tree appears to me, the red flowers as if leaning [lit. standing] to the irrigation'. The third example is similar: 314 b2 */// tskānt puk ksāc kaksānt* : 'they were pulled quite to the irrigation [and] they were watered(?)' (for *kaksānt* see A <sup>2</sup>*kās*- 'to pour, water'). A *kās* (with the all.sg. *ksāc*) would reflect CT *\*kāsā*, obl.sg. *\*kāsā*, that could be etymologically associated with the IE root *\*gheus-* 'to pour over, sprinkle', cf. OIcel. *gjósa* 'to erupt, spray', etc. An IE *\*ghus-eH₂* would yield CT *\*kāsā* regularly. See also A <sup>2</sup>*kās*- 'to pour, water'.

- A *kās*- 'to reprimand, chastise' (pres. XII [inf.] *kāṣiñtsi*, [impf. 3sg. med.] *kāṣiññā(t)*, subj. XII [opt. 3sg. med.] *kāṣiññitār*, pret. V [ptc.] *kākṣiñu*). The fact that the element *-ññ-* is found in all stems of this verb indicates either that it is a denominative formation (cf. discussion in Hilmarsson 1991b, esp. pp. 94 and 96, where, however, the translation given ['revile, express scorn'] is incorrect), or that it is a "secondary" deverbative of the type A (subj. XII) *ākṣiññāla-* 'to proclaim' with the element *-ññ-* generalized in the present and preterite stems. In my paper cited I opted for the latter solution. Should that be correct, the subj. stem *kāṣiññāla-* has replaced an earlier thematic subj. II *\*kāsā-/kāsā-*, and so this verbal root can be posited as *kās-* and not *kās-* as customary in the handbooks. It is possible that Van Windekens (1941: 31, 1963a: 192) is right in connecting this verb with Skt. *śāsti* 'reprimands, punishes, controls, teaches', etc., to IE *\*keH₂s-*. The Toch. A subj. *kāṣiññāla-*, for earlier *\*kāsā-/kāsā-* would reflect CT *\*kāsā-/kāsā-* from a thematic IE *\*keH₂s-eH₂-*. See B *kaṣāntaṣṣe\** 'reprimanding(?)'.

- B <sup>1</sup>*kās*- 'to be extinguished, go out; put out, extinguish' (pres. II [3sg.] *kesām*, [ptc.] *keṣṣeñca*, [ptc. med.] *kesemane*, [ger.] *keṣāle* (MQ), subj. III [3pl. med.] *kentār*, [inf.] *ketsi*, pret. III [2sg.] *kesasta*, [3pl. med.] *kesante* (M), [ptc.] *kakesu*, caus. subj. I [inf.] *kastsi*, A *kās*- 'id.' (subj. III [abstr.] *ksalune*, pret. III [ptc.] *kaksu*, caus. pres. VIII [2sg.] *kāṣt*, [inf.] *kāssi*). The handbooks do not recognize the infinitive B *kastsi* (subj. I stem *\*kāsā-*) as causative, but in view of its transitive meaning (as opposed to the intransitive meaning of the subj. III inf. B *ketsi*), it is best seen as causative. The same applies to the A pres. 2sg. *kāṣt* and the infinitive A *kāssi*, for formal reasons (pres. VIII stem *\*kās(ā)ṣā-*). Their contexts do not reveal whether they are transitive or intransitive, but their zero grade does not match the West Tocharian non-causative pres. forms. A causative preterite 3pl. med. A *kaksānt* is found in 314 b2; although traditionally seen as belonging with A *kās*- 'to extinguish', it seems better to classify it with A <sup>2</sup>*kās*- 'to pour, water', q.v. An etymological connection with IE *\*(z)ges-* 'to extinguish' was already proposed by Smith 1911: 10, cf. Lith. *gėsti* 'be extinguished', Skt. *jāsate* 'be exhausted'. For CT one may reconstruct a pres. II *\*kʷeṣā-/sæ-*, possibly based on an IE perfect *\*(gʷe-)(z)gʷos-*, and subj. III *\*kāsā- < \*kʷs-* (plus whatever element the pres./subj. III marker reflects). The causative forms are all based on zero grade forms, *\*kāsā-* (plus *-ṣā-/sæ-* or not) from earlier *\*kʷs-*. Loss of the labial element of an initial labiovelar is regular before a consonant (*\*kʷs- > \*ks- > \*kās-*) as well as before a vowel other than CT *\*-ā-*.
- A <sup>2</sup>*kās*- 'to pour, water' (caus. pret. II [3pl. med.] *kaksānt*) is a hapax of 314 b2 */// tskānt puk ksāc kaksānt* : 'they were pulled quite to the irrigation [and] they were watered(?)'. For the reasoning behind this translation, see A *kās* 'watering, irrigation(?)'. A <sup>2</sup>*kās*- reflects CT *\*kās-* from IE *\*ghus-* 'to pour over, spray, sprinkle', cf. OIcel. *gjósa* 'to erupt, spray', ModIcel. *gusa* 'splashing', etc. See also A *kās* 'watering, irrigation(?)'.
- A <sup>3</sup>*kās*- 'to be bright, shine(?)' (pret. Ia [ptc. obl.pl. fem.] *kāsont* (sic)) is a hapax of 249 b1 *[k](l)[o]tkasyo tñi kāsont tām̐yo pūk kārnsāl wram knānmuneyo lyalyku [c]i* 'with your shining(?) k(l)otāk\* [and] therefore everything that is to be known is enlightened by you through knowledge'. The translation of *kāsont* is not certain, and any etymological suggestions would be too speculative at present. The form *kāsont* has an (unnecessary) anaptyctic vowel for expected *ksont\**, the obl.pl. fem. to a past

participle *ksau\** to a verb *A kās-*. Possibly related to *A kāsont* (see *A ksā-* 'to shine on, illuminate(?)'), but the formal side of that relationship is quite unclear. It must be stressed that the meaning of *A kās-* – as well as that of *A ksā-* – is not certain.

- B kās-** 'to scatter, disperse, split apart' (pres. XII [3sg.] *kāskan-me*, [impf. 3sg. med.] *kāskaññitār-ne*, subj. V [2sg.] *kāskat*, [3sg. med.] *kāskātār* (Š), [imp. 2sg. med.] *pkaskar-ñ* (MQ), pret. Iaß [3pl. med.] *kāskānte*, [ptc.] *kāskau*). Primary verbs forming pres. XII presuppose a nasal present formation of class VI or VII and sometimes co-exist with one. There is no sign of such a present here though. The accentuation of the subj. stem is ambiguous: suffixal (*kāskātār*) or radical (*pkaskar-ñ*). *B kās-* 'chatter, slander' is an abstract formed to the past ptc. *kāskau*. Melchert 1977: 107-108 proposes to connect *B kās-* with IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>hen-* 'to strike', i.e. *kās-* < *\*g<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>sk-*, which might be semantically conceivable, but is, in my opinion, phonologically impossible. The preform *\*g<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>sk-* ought to have preserved the labial element and resulted in CT *\*kwānsk-* > *\*kwāsk-* > *B \*kwāsk-*. Melchert's parallel, *B kām-* from IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>m-*, is not pertinent, for here dissimilation caused the loss of the labial element. The regular outcome of a labiovelar + sonantic resonant in CT was *\*kwār-*, cf. *B kwāl-* 'to recede, turn' (*k<sub>2</sub>lātār*) < IE *\*k<sup>l</sup>l-H-*, BA *kwār-* 'to grow old, decrepit' (*B kwreñtār*, *A kursañtār*) < *\*g<sup>h</sup>h<sub>2</sub>(dh)r-*, *B kokale*, *A kukāl* 'wagon' < CT *\*kwāk<sup>h</sup>læ* < *\*kwāk<sup>h</sup>læ* (with defronted *\*a* for *\*e*) < IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>lo-*, etc. The etymology of *B kās-* must therefore be looked for elsewhere. Possibly, Van Windekens 1976: 210 is correct in associating this verb with *B* and *A kāt-* 'to scatter', as would be semantically optimal. The phonological difficulty is that *a priori* one would have expected an *-sk*-extension of a verbal root in a final dental to result in a Tocharian verb in *-tk-*, i.e. *\*kāt-sk* would yield *B \*kāt-k*, not *kās-*. However, this problem can be obviated. *B* and *A kāt-* reflect PT *\*kāt-* with *schwa secundum* from IE *\*kd-*, cf. Gk. *σκιδναται* 'scatter' with a parallel anaptyxis. This same root, extended with *-sk-*, i.e. (as if) IE *\*kd-sk* could have received its anaptyxis in a different place than the unextended *\*kd-*. While the latter yielded PT *\*kāt-*, the former may have yielded PT *\*ktask-*, and the initial cluster would have been reduced to *B k-* regularly (cf. *B kem* 'earth'). As the *-sk-* was originally only a present suffix, the subj. and pret. stems of *B kās-* are innovations made on the basis of *kās-*, not *kāt-*. Therefore, no *-t-* appears in these stems of the verb *kās-*. See also

*B kāt-* 'to scatter' (*A kāt-*), *B ktakāt* 'finger gesture', *B sāktālye* 'seed'.

- B kastuna** '±conspiracy, threat' is a hapax of KVāc. 19 b2 III (*mapi lāntā*)[*ś*]*c(ā) kastuna palskanatā* 'you do not contemplate a threat against the king?', cf. K.T. Schmidt (1986b: 86), who translates "Anschläge(?), Komplott(?)". This word is presumably a neuter pl. of class II,1 (type *B akrūna* 'tears', *laṃṣūna* 'services', *ṣotrūna* 'signs'). It seems likely that *kastuna* is a morphophonemic *\*kāstūnā* rather than *\*kāstūnā*, but no clear Tocharian cognate is in evidence. One might perhaps think of a connection with *A kās-* 'to reprimand, chastise' from IE *\*kH<sub>2</sub>s-* 'id.', in which case *B kastuna* might reflect an (as if) IE *\*kH<sub>2</sub>s-tu-*, but this is quite uncertain.
- B kástuwer\*** (adv.) 'at night, by night' is attested once in the prose alternant *kástu(wer)*, and several times in the verse alternant *kástwer* that is the citation form one finds in the handbooks. Suffixal CT *\*-wær* is not productive in Tocharian. Beside *B kástuwer\**, *kástwer*, it is found with *B malkwer* 'milk' and *B ārwer*, *A ārwar* 'ready'. In the latter two instances, we have deverbative formations to known IE verbal roots, viz. *\*H<sub>2</sub>melg-* 'to milk' (cf. *A māl-k-* 'to milk') and *\*H<sub>2</sub>er-* 'to adjust, join'. It is then likely that *kástuwer\** is also an originally deverbative formation. Unfortunately, a suitable verb cannot be pointed out, however. There have been various etymological attempts to explain this word. Van Windekens' derivation (1968b: 66) from a *\*kālst-*, corresponding to MHG *hulst* 'cover', is phonologically problematical, and implies an implausible denominative formation. Duchesne-Guillemin (1941: 158) suggested derivation from IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>es-* 'to extinguish', but that would imply a denominative formation to a *tu*-stem, which seems word-formationally unsatisfying. Isebaert (1987: 63sq.) derived *kástwer* through dissimilation from *\*kāspwer*, which he, in turn, derived from IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>sp-<sub>y</sub>ēr*. He assumes that palatalization did not necessarily occur in the interior of words; with that I cannot agree, but one might posit *\*k<sup>h</sup>sp-<sub>y</sub>or* instead. The radical *\*k<sup>h</sup>sp-* Isebaert then links with Skt. *ksap-* 'night', Hitt. *išpant-* 'night', etc. An IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>sp-<sub>y</sub>or* would yield CT *\*k<sup>h</sup>sāp(u)wær* and it is, of course, conceivable that dissimilation occurred at this stage and yielded *\*k<sup>h</sup>sātuwær* > *\*ksātuwær* > *B \*kstuwer* > *kástuwer\*/kástwer*. However, there seems to be no specific reason to posit such a dissimilation; further instances of it are not found in Tocharian. Isebaert's proposal, therefore, remains hypothetical, and, in my opinion, unconvincing. Bearing in mind the

deverbative formation of B *malkwer* and B *ārwer*, A *ārwar*, it would be optimal to derive B *kāstuwer*\* from a verbal root. One might posit an IE \**Kest-* 'to wane, be lacking' that supplied B *kāstuwer*\* 'by night' as well as B *kest*, A *kašt* 'hunger' (q.v.), Hitt. *kašt-* 'hunger'.

- A *kāsu* (adj.) 'good', (adv.) 'well', (subst.) 'good, virtue, merit'. As adj., *kāsu* is found only in the nom.sg. m. in a suppletive paradigm with the stem *krant-*. As subst., *kāsu* shows the all.sg. *kāswac*, loc.sg. *kāswam*, but the gender is unknown. Presumably a thematic noun of class V,1. Thematic adj. stem form *kāswa-* is found in compounds, e.g. *kāswa-pālskañ* 'having virtuous thought'. Derived endocentric adj. *kāswaši* 'of good/virtuous quality'. An abstract *kāswone* (n.) 'meritous action, virtue' of class III,2 is derived from the stem *kāswa-* through the addition of the abstract suffix A *-une* (with subsequent monophthongization); derived from this abstract are the adjectives *kāswoneši* 'having merit' and *kāswoneyum* (adj. class II,5) 'having virtue'. Furthermore, the adj./adv. *kāswe* (attested so only as an adverb) 'good; well' of adj. class I (Krause & Thomas 1960: 147), appears to be a derivative in a nasal suffix of *kāsu* (stem *kāswa-*), cf. (m. obl.sg.) *kāswenām*, (m. nom.pl.) *kāswēni*. This would optimally imply a nom.sg. *kāswem*\*, formed to *kāsu* as A *lwem* 'of an animal' is formed to *lu* 'animal'. It seems possible that the final *-m* has been secondarily lost in the adverb *kāswe*, while no nom.sg. of the adjective is attested. Thus from an internal East Tocharian point of view, *kāswem*\* could derive from A \**kāswa'nn* < \**kāswa'ñña* (through palatal epenthesis, depalatalization in absolute final position, and subsequent generalization of the non-palatalized suffixal nasal, cf. discussion of this phenomenon in Hilmarsson 1986a: 316-338 [esp. p. 318sq.], 1987[89]c: 79-93), cf. B *lwāññe* 'of an animal'. However, should there be a genetic relationship between A *kāsu* 'good' and B *kāswō* 'the white disease, (i.e.) leprosy', as suggested by Winter 1962b: 113 n.10 (= 1984: 128 n.10) (the semantics will be dealt with below), the derivational status of A *kāswel*/*kāswem*\* could be viewed in a slightly different manner. B *kāswō* has the obl.sg. *kāswa*\* from CT \**kāswā*. A (thematic) *-ññ-* derivative to this stem would yield A \**kāswāññā* > \**kāswā'ñña* > \**kāswenn* > *kāswem*\*, which would make this formation completely parallel to that of A *lwem* to *lu*, cf. B *luwo* 'animal', obl.sg. *luwa*, derived adj. *lwāññe*. Winter's interpretation of B *kāswō* as a euphemism, i.e. 'the good disease', cannot be maintained in view of our explanation of *kāswō* as 'the white

disease, (i.e.) leprosy' (see B *kāswō*). However, A *kāsu* 'good, virtuous' might still be cognate with B *kāswō* 'the white disease', if one assumes a semantic development of 'white, grey' to 'old, revered, venerable' and from there to 'virtuous, good', a development that is perhaps thinkable in a Buddhist world. Ultimately, A *kāsu* reflects CT \**kāswā* < IE \**kasuo-*, cf. OIcel. *hross* 'grey', OHG *haso* 'grey, white' < Gmc. \**haswa-*. See also B *kāswō*.

- B *kāswō* (f.) '(white) leprosy, skin disease' (lit. 'the white or grey [disease]') of class VI,3ba (perl. [MQ] *kāswasā*) from CT \**kāswā* < IE \**kasueH₂* (but the obl.sg. \**kāswā* < IE \**kasuH₂-m*), a feminine (collective?) formation to IE \**kasuo-* 'grey, white', cf. OIcel. *hross* 'grey', OHG *haso* 'grey, white' < Gmc. \**haswa-*. Exocentric adj. derivative in B *kaswātse* 'leprous'. Not a loanword as suggested by Van Windekens 1976: 625 with lit. (see Emmerick 1977: 404). Possibly connected with A *kāsu* 'good' (Winter 1962b: 113 n.10), q.v.
- A *kāś* '?' is a hapax of 431 a3 *tmāš kāś kaus* III. A second occurrence listed by Poucha (1955: 62) is to be read (*ā*)*kāśā*, according to Couvreur (1955-56: 81). A *kāś* is not to be equated with Skt. *kāśa-* 'grass', which in East Tocharian has the form *kās*\*.
- A *kaśal* (adv.) 'together, conjoined, in conjunction' derives from A \**kaśa* (for which see under B *keś* 'series') through extension by the suffix *-l-* < \**-la-* < CT \**-lā-* < IE \**-lo-*, cf. A *mokal* 'old' beside *mok* 'old'. The variant *kaśāl* is attested once, whereas there are eight attestations of *kaśal*. See also B *keś* 'series' (A *kaś*), A *kaśom* 'counted, arrayed', A *kaśśik* 'near', A *kāštār* 'many, numerous', B *keše* 'fathom' (A *kaš*).
- A *kaśom* (adj. [hapax]) 'counted, arrayed' derives from A \**kaśa* (for which see under B *keś* 'series') through extension by the suffix A *-um* (adj. class II,5). See also B *keś* 'series' (A *kaś*), A *kaśal* 'together', A *kaśśik* 'near', A *kāštār* 'many, numerous', B *keše* 'fathom' (A *kaš*).
- B *kaśperne* is a hapax attested in 507 Š a2 *kaśperne mahāgrase(ne)* 'the k. on the Mahāgrasa (name of a serpent)'. The meaning and etymology of *kaśperne* are quite unclear. The formation is reminiscent of – and possibly identical to – A *ārāntiśparām* 'dignity of an Arhant', *puttiśparām*, *buddhiśparām* 'Buddha-dignity'.

A *kaššik* (adv.) 'near' is a *hapax* of 79 a4 *lo kaššik*, translated by Sieg (1952: 13) with "fern [und] nah", cf. also Couvreur (1955-56: 76). The final *-k* is the emphatic particle that here has been added to *\*kašši\**, an adjective in *-i* (< CT *\*-iyæ*) to the form underlying A *kaš* 'sequence, series; number' (see B *keš*). The geminate of A *kaššik* proves the *\*-šc-* postulated for A *kaš*, etc., and the adjective reflects CT *\*kašciyæ*, cf. the homophonous A *kašši* 'hungry' to *kašt* 'hunger'. The meaning 'near' has developed from 'pertaining to a sequence, being placed in a series'. See also B *keš* 'sequence, series' (A *kaš*), A *kašal* 'together', A *kašom* 'counted, arrayed', A *kāštār* 'many, numerous', B *keše* 'fathom' (A *kaš*).

A *kāš-* 'to reprimand', see A *kās-*.

B *kašāntašše\** is a *hapax* attested in G-Su 1 *koyn kakāyaš po kašāntašši kārī po* 'having all opened [their] mouth, all the pits of reprimand(?)'. The translation offered here of *kašāntašši\** as 'pertaining to reprimand' is not certain. Pinault (1987a: 136) suggests 'pertaining to impurity', taking the underlying form to be *\*kašāynta* to *kašāy*, but that word is otherwise only attested in the meaning 'decoction' in Tocharian. Should the meaning suggested here be the correct one, the underlying *\*kāšāntā* (cf. B *šalānta* 'quarrels') could be seen as formed to a *\*kāšā* to the (underlying) thematic subj. II stem *\*kāšä-*, cf. A *kās-* 'to reprimand, chastise'.

B *kaška* as read by Filliozat (1948) in W 29 b2 and W 32 a6, is an error for *kašsu* (cf. W 5 b2, etc.) 'Costus speciosus', a loanword from BHS *kuṣṭha-*.

A *kāštār* (adj. indecl.) 'many, numerous'. The etymology of this word is somewhat uncertain, but it is perhaps correctly associated with B *keš* (A *kaš*), *q.v.* (so Duchesne-Guillemin 1941: 158). If this is so, A *kāštār* may reflect CT *\*kāstrā* (or, less likely, *\*kāstræ*) from IE *\*ks-treH₂* (or *\*ks-tro-*), a collective formation to the root *\*kas-/kos-* 'series, sequence'. See also B *keš* 'series' (A *kaš*), A *kašal* 'together', A *kašom* 'counted, arrayed', A *kaššik* 'near', B *keše* 'fathom' (A *kaš*).

B *kāt-* 'to scatter' (pres. VI [1sg.] *katnau* (verse), [3sg.] *katnam* (verse), and pres. VII [3pl.] *kāmtam* (MQ), subj. V [3sg.] *kātam*, [opt. 3sg. med.] *katoytār* (Š), pret. Ia [2sg.] *štasta*, [3pl.] *štare*, [3pl. med.] *ktānte*, [ptc.] *ktau*, *ktowä*), A *kāt-* 'id.' (pres. VI [3sg.] *knāš-ām*, [3pl. med.] *knānträ*, pret. I [3pl.] *katar*, [ptc. absol.]

*ktoräš*). The co-existence of an (archaic) nasal infix (pres. VII) formation beside nasal suffix (pres. VI) formation in West Tocharian is not infrequent. Krause & Thomas' statement (1960: 205; cf. also Krause 1952: 74-75) that the present VII is thematic in stem formation is not quite correct: there are also unequivocally athematic forms, such as, e.g., B [3pl.] *kāmtam*. As the A present VI stem *knā-* reflects *\*ktnā-* < *\*ktānā-*, the CT stem form can be posited as *\*ktānā-*, which agrees with B *kātnā-* as that is a verse form (< *\*ktnā-* by anaptyxis), while the (unattested) prose form would have been B *ktānā-*\*. Thus underlying B *kātnā-* (verse) and *ktānā-*\* (prose), and A *knā-*, all reflect CT *\*ktānā-*. The retention of the cluster *kt-* in West Tocharian is due to paradigm analogy. Beside CT *\*ktānā-* there was a pres. VII stem *\*kāntā-*. The CT subj. stem V was *\*kātā-* (*ā*-umlaut in B)/*kātā-*, and the pret. I stem was *\*šātā-/kātā-* (and *\*kātā-*?). B and A *kāt-* derive from the IE root *\*(s)ked-* 'to split apart, destroy, scatter'. Thus, the pres. VI CT *\*ktānā-* < *\*kd-n(e)H₂-* is identical in formation with Gk. (σ)κίδναμι 'scatter (of a crowd)', cf. also Gk. σκεδάννυμι 'I split apart, destroy'. There may even have been an anaptyctic *ə* > Toch. *ä* in the zero grade root in Tocharian as in Gk. (σ)κιδ-. The subj. reflects a perfect *\*(ke-)kod-H₂-*, and the pret. reflects an aorist *\*ked-H₂-/kd-H₂-* (and *\*kod-H₂-*?). Etymology originally Van Windekens 1963b: 464. See also B *šāktālye* 'seed', B *kāsk-* 'to scatter', B *kiakāt* 'finger gesture'.

B *katūnam* is a *hapax*, found in W 2 b1. Its meaning is quite unclear, and any classification of it is at present uncertain.

B *kātarñe\**, see B *kānarñe* '?'.

B *kātk-* 'to rejoice, be glad' (pres. II [1sg.] *kātkau*, [3sg.] *kāccām*, [ptc. med.] *katkemane*, subj. II [abstr. perl.] *kaccalyaisa*, pret. Ibα [3pl.] *kaccäre*, [ptc.] *ka(k)accu*; caus. pres. IXbβ [3sg. med.] *kātkāštār*, [ptc.] *kātkāššeñca*, subj. IX [inf.] *kātkāssi*, pret. IV [ptc.] *kakātkāšsu*), A *kātk-* 'id.' (pres. II [2pl.] *kāckāc*, [ptc. med.] *kātkmām*; caus. pres. VIII [3sg. med.] *kātkāštār*, [impf. 2sg.] *kātkšāt*, pret. IV [absol.] *kātkātkšuräš*). According to Krause & Thomas (1960: 199 n.1), the East Tocharian present might also be of class I, but the *-ck-* of *kāckāc* seems better explained as the palatalized counterpart of *-tk-* than as analogical to *kācke* 'joy' (*q.v.*), whose *-ck-* is in need of an explanation anyway. Rather than assuming that CT *\*-tk-*, when palatalized, yielded different reflexes in East and West Tocharian, it seems better to take B *-cc-* as regular from CT *\*-cc-* and regard A *-ck-* as having restored the

-k- on the analogy of non-palatalized -tk-. The CT preforms would thus have been \**kātk-* (with pres. II [thematic] \**kāccā-*/\**kātkā-*) from PT \**kāt-sk-*. There is no reason to assume that *ā*-umlaut has taken place in this verb; the radical -*ā*- must therefore be a conditioned reflex. That would advise against a derivation from the IE root \**ghedh-*/\**ghodh-* 'to suit, fit' (Van Windekens 1941: 32 with lit.; Melchert 1977: 128). Rather, BA *kātk-* < CT \**kātk-* < \**kāt-sk-* derives (as if) from IE \**gH<sub>2</sub>dh-* + -*sk-* to the IE (extended) root \**geH<sub>2</sub>-dh-* 'to rejoice, be glad', cf. Gk. *γηδέω* (Dor. *γᾰδέω*) 'I rejoice' (which then must be separated from Lat. *gaudeō* 'I rejoice'), *γαίω* 'I rejoice' (< \**geH<sub>2</sub>-iō*), etc. Etymology Van Windekens 1976: 197-198. See also A *kācke* 'joy', B *katkauña* 'joy'.

A <sup>2</sup>*kātk-* 'to arise, stand up' (pres. VI [3sg.] *kātānkāš*, [impf. 3sg.] *kātānšā*, subj. V [3sg.] *kātkaš*, pret. I [3sg.] *kātāk*, [ptc.] *kātkāku*). Etymologically, one might with Van Windekens (1941: 32, 1976: 197) associate this verb with Skt. *jahāti* 'leaves' and, in particular, Gk. *χάζομαι* 'I withdraw, yield'. That is, quasi-IE \**ghH<sub>2</sub>-d-sk-* produced CT \**kātk-* with a *seṭ*-root paradigm pattern. There is probably no relationship with B and A *kātk-* 'to cross, transgress'. One would then have to assume a generalization of the *ā*-vocalism in East Tocharian, but there is little motivation for that as *ā*-umlaut generally did not take place in the subjunctive V in that language.

B *kātk-* 'to pass, traverse, transgress' (pres. VI [3sg.] *kātkanam*, VII [3sg.] *kāttānkām*, IX [3sg. med.] *kātkāštār*, subj. V [2sg.] *kātkat*, [3sg. opt. med.] *kātkoytār-ne* (Š), [inf.] *katkatsi* (M), [abstr.] *kātkālñe* (M), pret. Ia [1sg.] *šātkāwa*, [ptc.] *kātkau*, caus. pres. IX [ptc.] *šātkāššeñca*, subj. IX [inf.] *katkāssi*, [imp. 2sg. med.] *kātkāššar*, subj. II [inf.] *šāccātsī* (MQR), pret. II [2sg. med.] *šātkatai*), A *kātk-* 'id.' (pres. VI [3pl.] *ktānkeñc*, [inf.] *ktānkātsi*, subj. V [3sg.] *katkaš*, [2pl.] *kātkāc*, pret. I [3sg.] *kcāk*, [3pl.] *katkar*, [ptc.] *kātko*, caus. pret. II [ptc.] *šāšātku\**). The form B *šātkāwa* beside *šātkāwa* shows an eastern dialect feature. Two kinds of accentuation are found in the subjunctive: B *kātkā-ikātkā-* in active and active-based forms, *kātkā-* in middle and middle-based forms. A privative B *ekatkatte\** 'not crossing' is derived from the zero grade active (transitive) stem (Hilmarsson 1991a: 63sq.). The paradigm of this verb offers several unsolved problems. Possibly, as with the verb B *sāl-* 'to fly, go aloft', there are three paradigms involved: non-causative transitive and intransitive beside a causative transitive one. The subj. II B *šāccātsī* would in

that case not be a causative formally, but a transitive non-causative equalling B *šāllatsi* 'to throw'. Etymologically, B and A *kātk-* are hardly (with Van Windekens 1976: 211) to be connected with Gk. *κεύθω* 'I hide'. Rather, as suggested by Adams (unpubl.), there is a connection with Lat. *cēdō* 'I proceed, go; give in, yield'. That is, quasi-IE \**kd-sk-<sup>0</sup>* > \**kād-sk-<sup>0</sup>* (through anaptyxis) was in Tocharian transformed into a *seṭ*-verb \**kātskā-* > \**kātkā-* with generalized *sk*-element. This verb formed a nasal present (beside a secondary *sk*-present); the subjunctive V shows normal ablaut, and the preterite shows palatalization as if it had an original *e*-grade of the root. A pret. *kcāk* has the root structure of the present (*ktā-ñ-k-*). The "causative" subj. II B *šāccātsī*, if parallel to B *šāllatsi*, would reflect a reduplicated formation \**šā-šāccā-* of the type Gk. *λάλλω* 'I let fly, send forth'. It is unlikely that A *šātko* (thus 371 a5, but *šātko* in a4) is a past participle of that paradigm (Sieg & Siegling & Schulze 1931: 428 n.1; Couvreur 1955-56: 80); rather, A *šātko* is an adj. of the type A *tālo* 'miserable', formed to an East Tocharian relative of B *šātko\** (attested is the petrified obl.sg. *šātkai* 'very'); for details see B *šātkai* 'very'.

B *kātkare* (adj.) 'deep, profound', alternating with the verse form *kātkre*, of class I,2 (pl. obl. [verse] *kātkrem*). Forms the derivative abstract B *kātkarñe* 'depth, profundity' (variant *kātkarāññe*). B *kātkare* reflects CT \**kātkārā*. The prefixed adverbial B *enkātkre* (MQ for *enkātkre\**) 'deeply' derives from a prepositional phrase CT \**æn* + \**kātkārā* ('lit.) in a deep (manner)' whose accentuation explains the retention of the prefixal nasal, Hilmarsson 1991a: 174. The internal -*tk-*, presumably from \**-t-sk-*, makes it likely that *kātkare* is a deverbative formation (cf. B *asāre* 'dry' to the subj. V *āsā-* of the verb B *ās-* 'to dry (intr.)'), but an appropriate verb is lacking, for Van Windekens' association (1976: 211) of B *kātkare* with BA *kātk-* 'to pass, transgress, cross', *q.v.*, seems rather implausible semantically. The putatively underlying verb, CT \**kātk-* < \**kāt-sk-*, may derive from IE \**kudh-* 'hide, be hidden', cf. Gk. *κεύθω* 'I hide'. Etymology originally Krause & Thomas 1960: 65.

B *katkauña* (f.) 'joy' is a *nomen actionis* of noun class VI,3a (obl.sg. -*ñai*) to the verbal root B *kātk-* 'to rejoice'. Variant writings with -*auññ-* and -*auwñ-* occur. Specific dialect variants, eastern (M, S) -*aumñ-* and -*omñ-*, and western (MQ) -*eñwñ-*, are found. An alternant *katkauño* occurs once (601 Ku b5) and may be secondary, cf. B *prešciyalprešyo* 'time'. The derivational history of B *katkauña* is as follows: to the subjunctive (rather than



present) II stem CT *\*kātkā-* was formed a verbal *men*-stem noun CT *\*kātkā-mā(n)* (that [would have] yielded B *\*kātkē-u* [cf. B *erkeu* 'funeral ground' < *\*erke-mā(n)*, *sanmau* 'fetters' < *\*sānmā-mā(n)*]); to this noun a feminine derivative in *\*-yā* was formed, i.e. CT *\*kātkāmānyā* > B *\*kātkēmānyā* > *\*kātkēmnyā* > *\*kātkēmñā* > *\*kātkēmñā* > *\*kātkēñā*, and from this last stage all the attested variants of B *katkauñā* developed. A derived endocentric adj. is B *katkauñasse* 'joyous' (eastern dialect variant with *-aumñ-*). See also B *kātk-* 'to rejoice', A *kācke* 'joy'.

A *kātse* (adv. and postp.) 'near, nearby; near to, beside'; variant spelling *kāse* occurs. Van Windekens' assumption (1941: 32) that A *kātse* reflects IE *\*ghōdh-ē(n)* to the root *\*ghedh-* 'to fit, join', through a borrowing from West Tocharian, is not particularly attractive, for the lengthened grade root vocalism is unmotivated. Note that IE *\*ghedh-/ghdh-* produces in Tocharian the verb B *kātt-* 'to place on/together', A *kātw-* 'to deceive, set up', with no indication of (Toch.) *ā*-vocalism. One might perhaps rather suggest connecting A *kātse* with B *kātso*, A *kāts* 'stomach, belly', and assume a semantic development from 'stomach, belly' to 'side' to 'beside, near'; or even propose that it was formed directly to the *ti*-stem A *kāc* 'skin' with a semantic development to 'up to the skin, unto, near', cf. Gk. *ἐκνυτί* 'bis auf die Haut'. Morphologically, A *kātse* could be understood as a petrified obl.sg. of a class VI,2 noun (cf. A *yme* = B *yamai* to *ymiye* 'way, path'), that is, an *n*-stem extension of the underlying noun: the CT obl.sg. *\*k'ātsā* (from *\*kuH-ti-H₂-*) produced *\*k'ātsā-n-* that through *\*k'ātsāi* yielded A *kātse* regularly (cf. Winter 1989: 111sq. for the change of [suffixal] *-ān-* to *-āi-*). See also B *kātso* 'belly' (A *kāts*), A *kāc* 'skin'.

B *kātso* (f.), A *kāts* (f. likely) 'belly, abdomen, womb'. B *kātso* is certainly, and A *kāts* probably, of noun class VI,3b (obl.sg. B *kātsa*, A *kāts*, nom.pl. B *kātsāñ* [H 149. 14 a3]). Variant spelling with B *-s-* for *-ts-* occurs. Endocentric derivative adj. B *kātsāsse*, A *kātsaši* 'of the belly' is formed to the oblique singular stem. Etymology disputed. Traditionally (Schwentner 1942: 228) connected with Goth. *qībus* 'stomach', but there are morphological and morphophonological difficulties. Better to connect with A *kāc* 'skin' with development to 'sack' to 'belly'. Thus, these words would reflect CT *\*k'ātsā* < IE *\*kuH-ti-eH₂*, and the obl.sg. an IE *\*kuH-ti-H₂-m*. The development of IE *\*kuH-* to CT *\*k'ā-* > *\*kā-* is regular before a consonant. So Hilmarsson 1986a: 236 (= 1987[89]a: 50). See also A *kāc* 'skin', A *kātse* 'near'.

B *kātt-* 'to place on, place together with, join with' (pres. II [impf. 3pl.] *kācciyem-ne*, subj. II [opt. 3sg. med.] *kāccitār*, [ger. II fem.] *kāccilya*). Krause (1952: 64 n.2) suggested that the shape *kācc-* might be parallel to *tācc-* of the verb *tātt-* 'to place, lay' and that, therefore, one might posit the root form *kātt-*. This is, in my opinion, a correct observation, although the *-tt-* geminates of these two verbs are quite different in origin. Although 22 Š b4 *kektseñ kācciyem-ne yāresa* 'they laid his body on the gravel', and H 149. 37 a3 (*śi*)ñāccce *meltesa kāccilya* '(the vessel) is (not) to be laid on snow-covered dung', could imply that downward motion was a part of the semantics of *kātt-*, this is clearly not so in 33 Š b5 *lakam klyaušam wat yark=alyekepi tsakštār ysalyše pūwarsa sū ce compāmpa kāccitār* 'if he sees or hears of someone else's praise, he burns with the fire of envy, [thinking that] he should be joined/placed with this one or that one' (i.e. that he should be praised along with the others). B *kātt-* 'to place on, join with' has a correspondence in A *kātw-* 'to deceive', *q.v.* (which can be interpreted as having undergone a semantic development parallel to that of Engl. *put on* 'deceive', *set up* 'id.'), and, furthermore, it can be associated with B *ketwe*, A *katu* 'ornament' (i.e. 'something well joined/fitted together') and would thus reflect CT *\*kāt-w-*, cf. B *ritt-* 'to join' (A *ritw-*) and B *raitwe* 'means', B *šārtt-* 'to urge' (A *šārtw-*) and *šertwe* 'urging'. That association was already contemplated by Winter 1972: 388 (= 1984: 209). The reason for the survival of *-tw-* in these nouns as against the assimilation to *-tt-* in the associated verbs is unclear, but could have something to do with accent: if accent followed the cluster, it was assimilated. The thematic pres./subj. II implies CT *\*kāt-w'-d-/kāt-wá-*. For the etymology one might suggest IE *\*ghedh-/ghodh-* 'to join together, fit', cf. OHG *bi-gatōn* 'join together, place together', OFris. *gadia* 'join', etc. The Tocharian verb might be based on an *u*-stem IE *\*ghodhu-/ghdhu-* (cf. OCS *godŭ* 'right time' < *\*ghodhu-*), the zero grade of which, with anaptyxis, yielded CT *\*kātu-* that in turn produced the verb CT *\*kāt-w'-d-/kāt-wá-*. See also A *kātw-* 'to deceive', A *kātwes* 'deceptions', B *ketwe* 'ornament, jewelry' (A *katu*).

B *kātsi* (interrog. adv.) 'why then' is composed of the interrogative adverb *kā* 'why' and the emphatic particle *at(i)si* 'indeed, then, (Germ.) wohl' (in B found only in this compound). In 547 Š a7 *kātsi tu* translates Skt. (*katha*)*n tarhi*. Usually written *kātsi*, less frequently *kātsi*. See also B *kā* 'why', B *katu* 'for, namely', B *kos* 'how much' (A *kos*), B *ksa* 'some(body)', B *kūse* 'who' (A *kus*), B



*k<sub>u</sub>tamem* 'from where', A *k<sub>u</sub>yal* 'why', B *kwri* 'if' (A *kupre*) [B *mäksu* 'who'], B *atsti* 'indeed, then'.

B *katu* (particle) 'for, namely' (once *kātu* Lévi U 3 b1) reflects \**kātú*, composed of the interrogative adverb B *kā* 'why' and the neuter pronoun *tu*, with accent on the second part, cf. B (n. rel. interrog. pron.) *mäktu*. A connection with the enclitic particle B *ka* is unlikely. For *ka* / *kā*-, see also B *kā* 'why', B *kātsi* 'why then', B *kos* 'how much' (A *kos*), B *ksa* 'some(body)', B *k<sub>u</sub>se* 'who' (A *kus*), B *k<sub>u</sub>tamem* 'from where', A *k<sub>u</sub>yal* 'why', B *kwri* 'if' (A *kupre*) [B *mäksu* 'who']. For *-tu*, see B *su* 'he, this'.

A *kätw-* 'to deceive, set up' (pres. VIII [3sg. med.] *katuštär* (sic), [3pl.] *ktuseñc-äm*, pret. III [ptc.] *kakätwu*) is a perfect match of B *kätt-* 'to place on, place together, join' (q.v.). The semantic development parallels that seen in Engl. *put on* 'to deceive' or *set up* 'id.'. East Tocharian shows only causative forms (if pres. class VIII may be termed so), while in West Tocharian only non-causatives are found. The paradigms, although different, can therefore be paired together. The form A *katuštär* must have an erroneous *-a-* for *-ä-* > zero, although either vowel would match the vocalism of the past participle. If the form *ktuseñc-äm* is correct (Poucha 1955: 66 suggests the possibility of a division *k tuseñc-äm* to a verb *tus-*), the verb must be *kätw-*, not *katw-*, however. This is also demanded by the derivative *kätwes* (obl.pl.) 'deceptions', q.v. The pres. stem *ktuṣ/sV-* reflects earlier \**kätwäs/sV-* through syncope in open syllable, vocalization of *-w-* to *-u-* and again syncope in open syllable. For the etymology, see B *kätt-* 'to place on, place together, join'. See also A *kätwes* 'deceptions', B *ketwe* 'ornament, jewelry' (A *katu*).

A *kätwes* (f. obl.pl. [hapax]) 'deceptions' indicates a nom.pl. *kätweñ\**, and presumably a nom.sg. *kätwe\**, of class VI.4 (type A *yeye* 'knife', *yetwe* 'jewelry'). For a discussion of words of that type and of whether a borrowing from West Tocharian is involved, see Winter 1962a: 275 (= 1984: 75sq.). A *kätwe\** is deverbatively formed to A *kätw-* 'to deceive'. The meaning of A *kätwes*, as given here, is determined by the formal association with the verb A *kätw-*, and seems appropriate in its context where self-administered punishment is being described: 300 b3 *ñii kätwes mäkont prakte ypamtär* 'for our own selfsame deceptions we give punishment'. For the etymology, see B *kätt-* 'to place on, place together, join'. See also A *kätw-* 'to deceive', B *ketwe* 'ornament, jewelry' (A *katu*).

B *kau\** (gender unknown; only pl.), A *ko* (f. obl.sg.) 'cow' is an athematic noun of class V.3 (B obl.pl. *kewän* [so 2x, once *kewam*], A nom.pl. *kowi*, obl.pl. *kos*). A *ki* (360, 8) for obl.sg. *ko* is surely an error. A singular form is not attested in B, but the stem form (= obl.sg.?) is found in the compound B (gen.sg.) *kē<sub>u</sub>-pyapyantse* 'cow-flower's', (i.e.) dandelion's; the plant's milk-like juice presumably explains the name. The nom.pl. A *kowi*, for expected \**kawi*, derives its vocalism from the singular and from the obl.pl. In the handbooks the West Tocharian form of this word is always cited as *kē<sub>u</sub>*. However, the nom.sg. form, if it had been attested, would have been (standard) *kau*. The stem form *kew-* is the pre-vocalic alternant. Note that in the compound *kē<sub>u</sub>-pyapyo\** the *kē<sub>u</sub>*-reflects \**kewā-*. – B *kau\** / *kē<sub>u</sub>*- and A *ko* reflect CT (obl.sg.) \**kawā(m)* < \**k<sup>w</sup>aw-* < IE \**g<sup>u</sup>o(H)u-* 'cow', cf. Skt. *gāuḥ*, *go-* 'cow', Gk. *βοῦς* 'id.', etc. Etymology originally Schrader & Nehring 1929: 255. See also B *kewiye* 'of a cow; butter' (A *kowi*).

B *kau-* 'to kill, slay, strike down' (pres. VIII [3sg.] *kaušäm*, [ptc.] *kauseñca*, [ptc. med.] *kausem(ane)*, [ger.] *kausalle*, subj. I [3sg.] *kowän* (Š), [inf.] *kautsi*, [abstr.] *kāwālñe*, [imp. 2sg. med.] *kawar* (H add. 149. 88 a4, a non-MQ text), pret. III [1sg.] *kauwa*, *kauwwa*, *kewwa* (MQ), [3sg.] *kausa*, *kowsa* (Š and MQ), [1pl.] *kawam* (sic Š), [ptc.] *kakāwu\**, caus. pret. III or II [1sg.] *šauwame*, *šauwwa*), A *ko-* 'id.' (pres. VIII [1sg.] *kosam*, [ptc.] *košanr\**, [ptc. med.] *kosmām*, [impf. 3sg.] *košā*, subj. I [3sg.] *koš\**, [3pl.] *kāwe(ñc)*, [abstr.] *kolune*, [imp. 2sg.] *pko*, pret. III [3sg.] *kosā-m*, [ptc.] *kāko*). The B imperative *kawar* shows the eastern dialect feature of dropping the imperative marker *p(ä)-* (Ringe 1989), but the form is misspelled for \**kāwar*. Also the pret. III 1sg. *kawam* (Š) is misspelled, presumably for \**kauwam*. An abstract B *kāwālñe*, cited in the handbooks, beside *kāwālñe*, is probably better assigned to the verb *kāw-/kāp-* 'to crave, want'. The past ptc. A *kāko* is from \**kākāw* < \**kākāwu*, cf. B *kakāwu\**. Etymologically, this verb has been correctly derived from IE \**keH<sub>2</sub>u-* 'to hew, cut down, strike' with close cognates in Lith. *kāuti* 'to strike, hammer, fight' and OHG *houwwan* 'to hew', Olcel. *hoggva* 'id.', etc. (originally Fraenkel 1932: 222 n.2). The pres. stem reflects CT \**kāušā-/kāušā-* from as if IE \**kau-s<sup>u</sup>o-* < \**keH<sub>2</sub>u-s<sup>u</sup>o-*. In the subj. stem, ablaut is found in B, cf. 3sg. *kowän* vs. abstr. *kāwālñe*, and may probably be assumed in A as well, cf. 3sg. *koš\** vs. 3pl. *kāwe(ñc)*, although the original quality of the monophthongized A *-o-* cannot be seen anymore. The vocalism of B *kowän* has remained a riddle, but it seems highly unlikely that it

has spread from a putative first person singular *\*kowu*, where it would be the result of umlaut. Rather, one must note the occurrence of pret. III 3sg. *kowsa* (Š and MQR) beside *kausa* and the 1sg. *kauw(w)a* and *kewwa*. This last form is found in a text that has clear MQ characteristics (H 149. 171 b5) and shows the underlying vocalism *-eu-* of which *-au-/auw-* and *-ow-* cannot be but variants. That is, the subj. *kowān* can be equated with a standard *\*kauwām* and MQ *\*kē<sub>u</sub>wām* or the like, and may therefore reflect CT *\*kəwā-* (actually *\*kəwā-*), while B *kāwālñe* and A 3pl. *kāwe(ñc)* bear witness to CT *\*kāwā-*. CT *\*kəwā-* goes back to an IE *o*-grade perfect *\*ke-kou-* < *\*ke-koH<sub>2</sub>u-*, while the weak stem *\*kāwā-* reflects a zero grade *\*ke-kH<sub>2</sub>u-*. For this latter form, one must assume either a development from an old preconsonantal *\*ke-kH<sub>2</sub>u-* and vocalization of the laryngeal interconsonantly, or the creation of a new zero grade *\*ke-k<sub>o</sub>H<sub>2</sub>u-* > *\*ke-kaH<sub>2</sub>u-* > *\*ke-kau-* as the structural match of the normal grade. The pret. III stem is CT *\*kəw[ās]ā-*, while the stem of the past participle *\*kə-kāwā-* (with *ā*-umlaut: B *kakāwu\**, A *kāko*) is based on the subjunctive weak stem. The causative preterite B 1sg. *šauwa-me* can be either of class III or II. It reflects CT *\*śā(u)wā-* (as if) from IE *\*(ke-)kēu-* < *\*(ke-)kēH<sub>2</sub>u-*, but the formation of this type is still unclear. See also B *kaṣenta* 'killer', B *kaut-* 'to split, crack' (A *kot-*), B *kautāstse\** 'having a crack', B *koto\** 'pit, crevice', A *koṣt-* 'to cut down, strike', A *koṣt* 'edge'.

- B *kauc*, A *koc* (adv.) 'up, upwards, high'. In B several variants are found: *kaus* in eastern dialect texts (once *koś* in a Šorčūq text), *kewc*, *kē<sub>u</sub>c*, *kē<sub>u</sub>wc* in western (MQ) dialect texts. From CT *\*kaucā*. A derived prefixed adv. B *eñkaucar* 'in a loud manner' is found once (cf. Hilmarsson 1991a: 174-175 for a discussion of that form), presumably reflecting *\*æñ-kəucā-ārā*; the reason for the lack of *ā*-umlaut in the second (and thereby also in the first) syllable is the disyllabic form of the underlying *\*kaucā*. An endocentric adj. B *kaucaṣṣe\** 'high, on high' is also found once (PK AS 16 3 b4). Etymologically, B *kauc*, A *koc* are difficult to assess. Lane (1938: 26) suggested relationship with Skt. *kakūd-* 'summit, top'; this is accepted by Van Windekens (1976: 228) who posits for Tocharian an IE *\*koud-i-*. However, Skt. *kakūd-* is attested late and its *-d-* is probably secondary (Mayrhofer 1956: 135). Besides, a development of *\*-d-* to Toch. *\*-ś-* before an *\*-i-* is doubtful: one would expect Toch. *\*-ś-*. Similarly, the tempting comparison with Gmc. *\*hauha-z* 'high' (Goth. *hauhs*, Old Icelandic. *hár*, etc.) is phonologically impossible (the palatalized tectal ought to

yield Toch. *\*-ś-*) as well as morphologically unfitting: Gmc. *\*hauha-z* is thematic, while CT *\*kaucā* is not. All the same, a connection with the root underlying Gmc. *\*hauha-z* < *\*kou-ko-s* remains the best alternative. One might see in CT *\*kaucā* the petrified obl.sg. of a *ti*-stem, i.e. IE *\*kou-ti-m* to a root *\*keu-/kou-*.

- B *kauke* '±demand, application, request' is a *hapax* of KVāc. 24 b4 *wasamnpātās [k]au[k]e* translated by K.T. Schmidt (1986b: 94) with 'Antrag(?) auf Ordination'. It seems possible that this word is related to B *šauk-* 'to call', although – because of the initial non-palatal – it is hardly deverbatively formed to that verb. If related, B *kauke*, from CT *\*kaukæ*, might reflect IE *\*kouko-* to the root *\*keuk-* 'to call', cf. Lith. *šaukti* 'to call'. [See B *šauk-* 'to call'.]
- B *kauko* '?' is presumably a neuter of class III,1 (type B *palsko* 'thought', pl. *pālskonta*). It is attested several times, always in the obl.sg. form *kauko*, except once in the pl. form *kaukom(ta)*. All instances are in the business document 490 MQ II, and all are of the same type, e.g. line 2 *suwarti kauko kāryām k<sub>u</sub>śāne(m)tsa 700* 'we bought Suwarti's *kauko* for 700 *k<sub>u</sub>śāna*'s'. Unfortunately, the meaning is unknown, and no etymological explanation is possible.
- B *kaume\** (m.), A *kom* (gender unknown; *hapax*) 'shoot, sprout' is in West Tocharian found only in the plural (nom.pl. *kaumi*, obl. *kaumem*). Its gender is definitely masc. (H 149 add. 128 b6 *k<sub>u</sub>śaiṣṣi kaumi*), indicating thematic class V,1 flexion. The MQ form *snai-kē<sub>u</sub>mem* 'without shoots' allows the reconstruction of a CT *\*kaumæ*. Van Windekens (1976: 229) suggests derivation from an IE *\*koud-mo-* to the root *\*(s)keud-* 'to shoot' as seen in Old Icelandic. *skjóta* 'to shoot', Old English. *scēotan* 'id.', cf. also Engl. *shoot* 'sprout', etc. This seems a quite plausible connection. One may wonder, however, whether the meaning of the Tocharian words has been precisely defined. A *kom* is clearly 'shoot, sprout' (A 4 a6, cf. Sieg 1944: 7), but in West Tocharian there are signs that the meaning may be more in the direction of 'thorn, stinging bud', *vel sim*. Note 563 Š b8 (*lkā*)*šām-me kaumemtsa rera(koṣām)* 'he sees us covered with *k*', where 'thorns' yields more sense than 'sprouts', Lévi K 8 b5 *šciron=ātyañ tsakāstse kaumi špā mās-kentrā pākri* 'the grasses [are] rough and stinging the thorns appear' (or '... and thorny the sprouts appear'? [so Sieg 1944: 7 n.7]), and esp. 275 MQ a1 [*m*](*ā*) *snai-kē<sub>u</sub>mem ñyākcyāna ramt stāna nandam-wärtt[o]ne* 'not without thorns like the divine trees

in Nandana-forest', where it makes more sense that the divine trees are without thorns than that they are without shoots.

**B** *kaumiye* (f.) 'lake, pond' is clearly a fem. of class VI,2 (obl.sg. *kaumai\**, gen.sg. *kaumaintse*, nom.pl. *kaumaiño* [with "mobile" -o]). There are no certain cognates of this word in Tocharian, and its etymology is unclear. Van Windekens' derivation (1976: 190) from *\*kāud-m-* to the root of the verb *B kaut-* 'to split' is not particularly enlightening – nor is his earlier association (1949: 301) with the root *\*gheu-* 'to pour'. From its occurrence in 45 Š b7 *wrotsana ckenka kaumaiño samudtārnta kättron=epinkte kaunts=osontrā* 'the great rivers, lakes, [and] the deep oceans between are dried up by the sun' it can be gathered that *kaumiye* is not merely a pond, but larger, presumably a lake. With reserve, one might suggest a connection with Gk. *χάος* 'empty space; chasm', if from *\*gheH<sub>2</sub>u-ös*, to the IE root *\*gheH<sub>2</sub>u-/\*gheH<sub>2</sub>-* 'to open wide; opening, open space'. In that case, *B kaumiye* would reflect a CT *n*-stem *\*kāumän-/\*kāumän-*, (as if) formed to an IE *\*gheH<sub>2</sub>u-men-*. See also *B kor* 'throat', *B <sup>2</sup>kāre* 'pit, hole' (*A kār\**).

**B** *kaum* (m.), *A kom* (m.) 'sun; day' is an athematic noun of class V,3 (pl. *B kauñi*, *A kauñi*). Variant spelling occurs: *B kaum*, *kauñ*, while *kom* shows MQ monophthongization. Spelling with -m(-) for -ñ(-), as in *kom* (MQ), perl. *komtsa* (D), *komt* (MQ) 'daily', *komtak* (MQ) 'on (this) day', *kaumtak* (MQ) 'id.', *komñikte* (S) 'sun-god', *kompirko* (S), may be a dialectal feature outside of the central (standard) area (cf. Stumpf 1990: 71). Derived endocentric adj. *B kaunaşse*, *A komşi* 'pertaining to the sun/day'. *B ynkaum*, *inkaum*, *A ykom* 'by day' are derivatives prefixed with CT *\*yän-* (Hilmarsson 1991a: 185sq.). The etymology of this word has been disputed: borrowed from Turkic (Pedersen 1944: 11, also Van Windekens 1976: 627), or from Iranian (Isebaert 1980: 178); related to Skt. *śoṇa-* 'red' (Lane 1938: 26). There are three important points concerning the Tocharian forms that must be noted. First, although this word is extremely frequent, the radical diphthong is never written -ew- (-e<sub>u</sub>-, -e<sub>u</sub>w-) in MQ texts, but always either -au- or -o(m)-. This almost certainly indicates CT *\*-āu-*, and therefore an IE *a-* (or *H<sub>2</sub>-* coloured) vocalism. Second, the retention of the prefixal nasal in *B ynkaum*, *inkaum* 'by day' presupposes an underlying non-prefixed form with accent on the second syllable. Third, the accent of *ynkāum*, *inkāum*, indicates an earlier (at least) trisyllabic form, which is in any case needed to explain the final nasal. In view of this, the proposed

connection with Gk. *καίω* 'I set fire to, kindle' (originally Smith 1911: 10; revived and refined by Winter 1963: 239 [= 1984: 35-37]) is attractive. For Tocharian one would have to depart from a form with a suffixal *\*-yen-/\*-yē-*, i.e. (as if) IE acc.sg. *\*keH<sub>2</sub>u-yē-m* > *\*kauyē-m* > CT *\*kāuwān-ä(ñ)*, and it is from this basic form that the prefixed *B ynkaum*, *inkaum*, *A ykom*, would be derived. Non-prefixed *\*kāuwān-ä(ñ)* resulted in *B kaum*, *A kom* regularly. It is conceivable that the frequent (dialectal) variants with -m- reflect an attempt to express the sequence -uw- in preconsonantal position after the loss of the -ä-. As the *men*-stem paradigms of adjectives of the type *B klyomo*, *A klyom* 'noble' show a mixture of forms in -n- and -nt-, one might surmise that *B komt* 'daily', *komtak*, *kaumtak* 'today', bears witness to the (earlier) presence of such an alternation in the *yen*-stem word for 'sun, day'. This etymology of *B kaum*, *A kom*, is simpler than – and therefore preferable to – the association with OHG *hei* 'dry' < IE *\*kaiH<sub>2</sub>o-* that I have offered recently (Hilmarsson 1991a: 187). See also *A -koñi* '-day, pertaining to days'.

**B** *kaurşe* (m. sg.), *A kayurş* (m. sg.) 'bull'. *B kaurşe* is of noun class VI,3 (voc.sg. *kaurşu*, obl.sg. *kaurş\** unattested, except as stem form in the compound *kauñrşa-pkai* [obl.sg.] 'having the arms of a bull' [i.e. *kauñrşä-*], gen.pl. *kaurşämts*), while *A kayurş* has acquired class VI,3 plural endings (nom.pl. *kayurşāñ*). This word is itself a compound of CT *\*k<sup>w</sup>awä-* and *\*wārşän-*. The first part is clearly related to *B ke<sub>u</sub>\** and *A ko* 'cow' (*q.v.*), while the second part reflects IE *\*u<sub>rs</sub>en* 'male', cf. Skt. *vṛşan-* 'id.'. The CT preform was (nom.sg.) *\*k<sup>w</sup>awä-wārşä(n)*, (obl.sg.) *\*k<sup>w</sup>awä-wārşän-ä(ñ)*. After due changes in final syllables and loss of *\*-ä-* after a resonant (that took place at least after -y-, -w-, -l(y)-, -r-, probably also -n-, -m-), these forms were reduced to *\*k<sup>w</sup>aw-wārşä*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>aw-wārşä(n)*, and presumably further to *\*k<sup>w</sup>aw-urşä*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>aw-urşä(n)* (with vocalization of -w- to -u- after the loss of -ä-). These forms yielded regularly *B kaurşe*, *kauñrş\** (in *kauñrşa-pkai*), and, with dissimilation of -wu- to -yu-, *A kayurş*. A possessive adj. is found once in the phrase *A kayurşem klank yetu* 'having adorned the ox-cart' (< *A <sup>1</sup>urşä<sup>1</sup>ñña*). Etymology originally Schneider 1940: 195. See also *B ke<sub>u</sub>\** 'cow' (*A ko*), *B kewiye* 'of a cow' (*A kowi*).

**B** *kauşenta* 'killer' is a *nomen agentis* of adj. class II,3 (obl.sg. *kauşentai*, nom.pl. *kauşentañ*), formed to the present participle active stem in -nt- of the verb *B kau-* 'to kill'. Synchronically, thematic verbs add the pres. ptc. suffix in the form *B -ent-ä* to the

palatalized pres. stem (*kaṣenta*, *prekṣenta* 'inquirer, judge', *weñenta* 'speaker', *auñento* 'beginning' [the last two require special comments, see s.v.]), while athematic verbs add *-nt-ā* to a non-palatalized stem (*yokānta*\* 'drinker'). The situation is the same with the present participles in B *-eñca* : *-(ā)ñc*. This gives the impression that thematic verbs form these participial constructions with CT *\*-ənt-* from as if IE *\*-ēnt-*, while the athematic ones indicate CT *\*-ānt-* from IE *\*-nt-*. It seems better, however, to derive CT *\*-ənt-* from IE *\*-ont-*, and look upon the palatalization of *kaṣenta*, *prekṣenta* (cf. also *aśeñca* 'leading', etc.) as secondary, although it is uncertain what can have served as their model (the isolated formations B *weñenta*, *auñento* with *-ñ-* < *\*-ñyā/æ-* seem a too slender basis). See also B *kau-* 'to kill, slay' (A *ko-*), B *kaut-* 'to split, crack' (A *kot-*), B *kautātstse*\* 'having a crack', B *koto*\* 'crevice, pit', A *košt-* 'to cut down, strike', A *košt* 'edge'.

- B *kaut-* 'to split, cleave, crack, cut down' (pres. VI [impf. 3pl.] *kautanoñ-c*, subj. V [3sg.] *kautam*, [inf.] *kautatsi*, [priv.] *akautatte*\*, pret. 1bβ [3sg. med.] *kautāte*, [ptc.] *kakautau*), A *kot-* 'id.' (pres. VI [3sg.] *kotnaṣ*, subj. V [abstr.] *kotlune*, pret. I [3sg.] *kot*, [absol.] *kākoturāṣ*). The privative B *akautatte*\* implies a B subj. V *\*kāutā-*, that in turn could reflect CT *\*kēutā-* (with *ā*-umlaut in B) or *\*kāutā-* (with original CT *āu*-vocalism). As the subjunctive V, in my opinion, in principle goes back to the IE perfect, the first alternative is preferable, implying (as if) IE *\*ke-kou-d-* from *\*ke-koH<sub>2</sub>u-d-*. In the preterite one would have *e*-grade of the root, (as if) IE *\*kau-d-* (< *\*keH<sub>2</sub>u-d-*) that yielded CT *\*kāut-ā-* regularly. In the *n*-present one would expect zero grade of the root, but here Tocharian has generalized the normal grade, presumably on the basis of the subjunctive vocalism, i.e. CT *\*kēutānā-*. As the subj. was umlauted in B and not in A, the present stem in B probably reflects *\*kāutānā-*, in A *\*kautānā-*. Etymologically, CT *\*kēutā-* (subj.), *\*kāutā-* (pret.) have been correctly associated with Lat. *cūdō* 'to beat (grain), pound, hammer, forge' (originally Lane 1938: 26). Since only Latin and Tocharian show dental extensions of the underlying root (IE *\*keH<sub>2</sub>u-* 'to beat, hew'), it is reasonable to assume that these extensions are identical. In Tocharian the dental cannot be identified, but in Latin it is better to posit an original *\*-d-* and not *\*-dh-* which would have given Lat. *\*cūbō* (if *\*-dh-* was directly adjacent to *\*-u-*). Schrijver (1991: 287) posits *\*-dh-*, as he – in my opinion wrongly – assumes that IE *\*d* would yield Toch. *-ts-*, and

reconstructs for the Latin verb *\*koudō* < *\*koṃadhō* < *\*keuH<sub>2</sub>dhō*. However, this makes the Latin verb completely different from the Tocharian one in structure. Again, on the assumption that since Tocharian and Latin are the only languages where a dental extension to the root in question is found and that, therefore, it is likely that this extension was the same in both languages, one can conclude that the formation of these verbs was probably identical. This can be reached by positing for Latin a preform *\*koud-* or *\*kaud-* from *\*koH<sub>2</sub>u-d-*, *\*keH<sub>2</sub>u-d-*, which applies to the Tocharian forms as well, although that would entail assuming that *cūdō* has replaced *\*caudō* on the model of compound verbs. See also B *kautātstse*\* 'having a crack', B *kau-* 'to kill, slay' (A *ko-*), B *kaṣenta* 'killer', B *koto*\* 'crevice, pit', A *košt-* 'to cut down, strike', A *košt* 'edge'.

- B *kautātstse*\* (adj., hapax) 'having a crack, having a breakage' is found in a context (Lévi S 5 a3) where the human body is likened to a pot and said to be *kautātstasai* (obl.sg. fem.), i.e. 'having a crack'. This adjective is not formed directly to the verb, for *tst-* adjectives are not deverbative. Rather, *kautātstse*\* is formed to an unattested deverbative noun *\*kautā* (< *\*kēutā* or *\*kāutā* ?) from the verb *kaut-* 'to split, crack' in the same manner as B adj. *šampāsse* (for *-ātstse*) 'arrogant' to the noun *šāmpa* 'arrogance' from the verb *šāmp-* 'to be arrogant'. The noun *\*kautā* could be of class VI,3bα (nom.sg. in *-o*) or β (nom.sg. in *-ā*). See also B *kaut-* 'to split, crack' (A *kot-*), B *kau-* 'to kill, slay' (A *ko-*), B *kaṣenta* 'killer', B *koto*\* 'crevice, pit', A *košt-* 'to cut down, strike', A *košt* 'edge'.
- B *kauṛṣa-pkai* (obl.sg.) 'having the arms of a bull', see B *kaurṣe* 'bull' (A *kayurs*).
- B *kāw-/kāp-* 'to crave, want' (pres. XII [3pl. med.] *kawāññentrā*, subj. V [inf.] *kāwatsi* (Thomas & Krause 1964: 179), [abstr.] *kāwalyñe* (Š), pret. I [3sg. med.] *kawāte-ne*, [ptc.] *kakāpau*), A *kāp-* 'id.' (subj. V [abstr.] *kāplune*, pret. I [3pl.] *kāpar*). The handbooks class B *kāw-* as denominative to B *kāwo* 'craving' (Krause 1952: 227, etc.), cf. the adjective B *k[aw]ātse*. However, the denominative verbs forming presents of class XII show the element *-ññ-* in non-present stems as well, while primary verbs forming such presents are accompanied by a subjunctive V and a preterite I, precisely as we have in the case of B *kāw-*. Primary presents of class XII are based on earlier (to some extent co-existing) nasal presents of class VI (or VII) through *\*-yā/æ-*

extension. One might then have expected an underlying nasal pres. B *\*kāw(ā)nā-* to have produced a pres. XII *\*kāw(ā)ññā/e-*, and not the attested *kāwāññā/e-*. One has two choices then: first, there might be two verbs involved, one denominative yielding the present stem XII *kāwāññā/e-*, and the other a primary verb providing the non-present stems; these two verbs could then be seen as forming a suppletive paradigm. Or, second, a deverbative present XII *\*kāw(ā)ññā/e-*, formed to an unattested (but for system reasons likely to have existed) present VI *\*kāw(ā)nā-*, came under the influence of the nominal stem *kāwā-* (B *kāwo* 'desire') whereby its stem was changed from *\*kāw(ā)ññā/e-* to *kāwāññā/e-*. The second alternative seems simpler, cf. discussion in Hilmarsson 1991b: 80-81. In East Tocharian no present is attested; note that the subjunctive-based abstract *kāplune* reflects *\*kāpālune*. Thus for CT one might reconstruct pres. VI *\*kāpānā-*, subj. V *\*kāpā-*, pret. I *\*kāpā-*. The question then arises whether the *ā*-vocalism of this verb is conditioned or not. One could assume that *ā*-umlaut operated in the preterite and in the B subjunctive. The derivative noun B *kāwo* was formed to the latter stem, and influenced the pres. stem: *kāwāññā/e-*. In East Tocharian *ā*-umlaut would not be expected in the subjunctive, but A *kāplune* could (as A *mālklune* 'evil-mindedness' presupposes CT *\*mālkā-* beside non-umlauted 1sg. subj. *malkam* < CT *\*mālkā-*) indicate a middle subjunctive stem *\*kāpā-* beside *\*kāpā-*. However, there are indices that our verb acquired an *-ā*-extension only late in Tocharian and that it was originally an *aniṭ*-verb, forming a present in *-n-* (not *-nā-*) and an athematic subjunctive I. Such verbs formed subjunctives of class VII (in *-ñā/a-*) in East Tocharian, and the adj. A *kāpñe* 'dear, beloved' (q.v.) could be formed to such a stem. Furthermore, such subjunctives are matched by (original) athematic subjunctives of class I in West Tocharian, and these, in turn, were sometimes extended by *-i-* to form subjunctives of class IV; B *kapille* 'fever' (q.v.) could be the gerundive to such a formation, cf. discussion of subj. class VII in Hilmarsson 1991b; and cf. the interplay of the various stems of the verb BA *sāl-* 'to take aloft', Hilmarsson 1990. It is also possible that a *-yā/-yæ*-present co-existed with the nasal present, cf. again BA *sāl-*. Thus for B *kāp-*, *kāw-*, and A *kāp-*, I assume a non-umlauted *ā*-vocalism, and an original CT paradigm: pres. *\*kāp(ā)nā-* (perhaps also *\*kāpyā/ā-*), subj. *\*kāpā-*, pret. *\*kāpā-*. The *-w-* : *-p-* variation in Tocharian has not been fully explained, but *-w-* seems to be most frequent intervocalically. In most cases where this variation occurs a labial occlusive must be reconstructed.

ted. An etymology is not ascertainable, but because of the non-umlauted *ā*-vocalism one might assume a derivation from IE *\*kH<sub>2</sub>p-* 'to take, grip', pres. (*\*kH<sub>2</sub>p-n-* and) *\*kH<sub>2</sub>p-i<sup>eo</sup>-*, cf. Lat. *capitō* 'to take', Gk. *καπτω* 'to seize eagerly'. Etymology originally Pisani 1942-43: 244. See also B *kapille* 'fever', B *kāwo* 'desire, craving', A *kāpñe* 'dear, beloved', A *kāwālte* 'beautiful'.

A *kāwālte* (adj., only m.) 'beautiful' forms a suppletive paradigm with A *krāntso* 'id.' (only f.), q.v. A *kāwālte* is classed by Krause & Thomas (1960: 147) with the East Tocharian adjectives in *-em* as being of class I. However, *kāwālte* is singular in that group in that it has a final *-e*, not *-em*; but see also A *kāswe* 'good'. Winter observes (p.c.) that A *kāwālte* might be a compounded formation with *kāwā-* < *\*kāwā-* 'desire' (cf. B *kāwo*, obl.sg. *kāwa\**) as its first component, and a noun of the type A *-pāse* 'defending' as its second part. The second component *-lte* could then be identified as derived from the verb *lāt-* (*lānt-*) 'to leave, go out', and the entire compound would have the original meaning 'having left desire'. This adjective is only found qualifying the glory, form, or the facial traits of the Buddha, or substantivized with the meaning 'the beautiful one' (used of some masculine being). A similar semantic development, understandable in a Buddhist context, is to be seen in the adj. A *kāsu* 'virtuous, good', q.v. See also B *kāw-*, *kā-* 'to desire, crave' (A *kāp-*), B *kāwo* 'desire' (A *kāwas*), B *kapille* 'fever', A *kāpñe* 'dear'. [For *-lte*, see B *lāt-*, *lānt-* 'to go out, leave' (A *lāt-*, *lānt-*).]

B *kāwo* (gender unknown; only sg.), A *kāwas* (obl.pl.; hapax) 'desire, craving'. B *kāwo* is a noun of class VI,3b (causal. *kawāñ*) and therefore probably feminine. A *kāwas* is found in an inscrutable context (429 b7 : *ri śla kāwas III*); it is therefore not certain that it belongs here. These two words are possibly formed to the subj. V stem *kāwā-* of the verb B *kāw-*, A *kāp-* 'to desire'. An exocentric adj. B *kawātse* (hapax) 'desirous' is formed to B (obl.sg.) *\*kāwā*, and A *kāwaši* (hapax; context inscrutable [459 a3]) is an endocentric adj. possibly formed to the A equivalent. Reflects CT *\*kāpā*, obl.sg. *\*kāpā*, formed as if from IE *\*k(o)H<sub>2</sub>p-eH<sub>2</sub>*, acc.sg. *\*k(o)H<sub>2</sub>p-H<sub>2</sub>-m*, cf. Gk. *κῶπη* 'grip'. See also B *kāw-*, *kā-* 'to desire, crave' (A *kāp-*), B *kapille* 'fever', A *kāpñe* 'dear', *kāwālte* 'beautiful'.

B *kāy-* 'to open up (esp. the mouth)' (pret. Ibß [ptc.] *kakāyau*). Attested a few times, but always in past participle forms. Van Windekens (1962b: 20) has correctly associated this verb with

Lat. *hiscere* 'to open (the mouth)', OCS *zějō* 'I gape, yawn' to IE *\*ǵheH<sub>1</sub>i-* 'to gape, yawn'. B *-kāy-* in the attested participle can reflect either a zero grade *\*-ǵheH<sub>1</sub>i-* or a normal grade *\*-ǵhoH<sub>1</sub>i-*. One would expect CT *\*-āy-* to change into *-oy-*, cf. B *koym*, A (abl.) *koyās* 'mouth', B *soy-* 'to be satiated', B *soy*, A *se* 'son', B (opt. marker) *-oy-*; B *kāy-* appears to contradict that. However, B *kāy-* is attested only in the past ptc. *kakāyau*, and one might suggest that the participle stem final *-ā-* (stem *\*kā-kāyā-* < *\*kæ-kāyā-*) was a factor that prevented this change. Note the different stem formation of the participle B *sosoyu*. For CT one might reconstruct (ptc.) *\*kæ-kāyā-wā* reflecting (as if) IE *\*ǵhe-ǵh(o)H<sub>1</sub>i-H-ūōs* (the vocalism of the reduplication syllable presents a problem apart); the extension by a *sef*-root marker is, of course, secondary in Tocharian. See also B *koym* 'mouth' (A *koyās* [abl.]), B *koyñi* 'open wound' [A *šew-* 'to yawn']].

A *ke* 'permission', see B *kaiyye* 'permission(?)' (A *ke*).

B *ke* is identified as a particle by Sieg & Siegling 1949: 112. Although it occurs several times (possibly 9 times), its existence is not quite certain. Once (522 b8) it is certainly to be read *ket* 'whose', once (348 b2) it must be the final of a name in *-ke*, and once (235 a2) the reading is unclear: *k(e)*. In five of the remaining instances *ke* is either followed or preceded by a syllable in *-e*, and could be a scribal mistake for *ka*, as suggested by Thomas 1983: 177, 256. I tend to agree with that. See B *ka* (A *-k* ?), B *-k* (A *-k*).

A *kek\** '?' is a hapax of 126 a4 *rñe šom pākis kekac mā* III. No interpretation is possible.

B *kektseñe* (f.), A *kapśaṇi* (f.) 'body' is well attested in both languages. However, apart from the difference in internal consonantism, these forms are not identical in formation. B *kektseñe* is a fem. of class V,2 (obl. *kektseñ*, nom.pl. *kektseñi*, obl. *kektseñān*), while A *kapśaṇi* is a fem. of class VI,3 (obl. *kapśaṇi*, nom.pl. *kapśiññāñ*, obl. *kapśñās*). That is, B *kektseñe* inflects like B *meñe* 'moon' or *kaurše* 'bull' and, therefore, in historical terms, reflects a stem in *\*-ēn*, while A *kapśaṇi* inflects like A *āti* 'grass' (B *atiyola\**) or *pañi* 'splendour' (B *peñiyo*) and, therefore, in historical terms, reflects a stem in *\*-i(e)H<sub>2</sub>(/\*-iōn)*. To these nouns are formed the endocentric adj. B *kektseñāšše* 'pertaining to the body' and A *kapśiññāši\** 'id.', and, furthermore, the possessive adj. A *kapśiññum* 'having a body' (a hapax in the compound *tsopats-kārme-kapśiññum* 'having a great upright body'). While

the final syllable of B *kektseñe* reflects CT *\*-ñ-æ* < (as if) IE *\*-n-ēn*, the history of the final syllables of A *kapśaṇi* is more complicated. The nom./obl.sg. A *kapśaṇi* reflects earlier *\*kapśaṇiy* < *\*kapśaṇiyā* through apocope. In the gen.sg., the secondary cases, and in the plural, we generally have forms in *kapśiññ-* preceding the respective endings: gen.sg. *kapśiññis*, inst.sg. *kapśiññio*, all. *kapśiññac*, abl. *kapśiññās*, perl. *kapśiññā*, loc. *kapśiññam*, nom.pl. *kapśiññāñ*. This is quite regular, for here syncope has reduced the suffixal *\*-iy-* to *\*-y-*, whereby the resulting sequence *\*-ñy-* was assimilated to *-ññ-*, cf. also the adj. *kapśiññāši\** formed to the nom.sg., but – unlike the apocopated nom.sg. form – the adj. has suffered syncope. This late geminate clearly came into being after the earlier degemination of all inherited geminates in East Tocharian. Now, in these trisyllabic forms the internal *-a-*, being in a closed syllable, was regularly reduced to *\*-ā-*; after the development of palatal epenthesis before *-ññ-*, the sequence *\*-ā-ññ-* yielded A *-iññ-*. None of the forms with variant spelling are particularly relevant. Thus, in the nom.sg. there is one instance of *kapśaṇñi* and one of *kapśiñi*, both clearly analogical. Furthermore, in the secondary cases one finds instances of *-iññ-*, *-iñy-*, and (without anaptyxis) *-āññ-*. There are also instances where full reduction of the internal syllable has taken place, e.g. abl.sg. *kapśñās*, or the obl.pl. *kapśñās*. The one occurrence of a gen.sg. *kapśāññe* for the expected *kapśiññis* is somewhat strange. It is found in 240 a1 *kapśāññe būddhišparāṃṣīne* 'of the body having Buddha-dignity'; it seems that by mistake an adjectival genitive ending has taken the place of the substantival one here. More interesting is the form *kapśam* that in 240 a3 *wināš kapśam pättāmñktenām* 'he worships the Buddha-god's body' appears to be an obl. sg. for expected *kapśaṇi* (a second occurrence in 248 b1 is without context). This form is not adjectival, for then one would expect a final *-ām*. Presumably, *kapśam* reflects earlier *\*kapśaṇñ* (for the change of final A *\*-ññ* to *-m*, cf. A *ārkiṃ* vs. B *arkwañña* 'white' [fem. sg.], see Hilmarsson 1986a: 318sq. [= 1987[89]c: 80sq.]) with geminate on the analogy of the secondary cases. The etymology of B *kektseñe* and A *kapśaṇi* is still disputed. Numerous solutions have been offered, but all suffer from phonological and/or morphological deficiencies. Pedersen (1925: 29, followed by Lane 1938: 29) compared OIr. *cucht* 'colour', OIcel. *háttir* 'manner' from a basic *\*koku-* (one might for Tocharian posit *\*kokiyo-*); Van Windekens (1941: 36) compared Skt. *kákṣā* 'arm-pit' from *\*kok-s-*; Van Windekens later (1965: 501, followed by Anreiter 1987: 95sq.) compared Skt. *cákṣaṇa-* 'aspect, form' from

\**k<sup>u</sup>okson* - / \**k<sup>u</sup>oksēn* -; Toporov (1973: 148-150, followed by Hilmarsson 1986a: 186 [= 1989a: 118]) compared Lith. *kaktėnā* 'forehead' from \**k<sup>(u)</sup>ok-tjēn* -. Of these proposals, only the comparison with Skt. *cākṣaṇa* - is semantically satisfactory and at the same time - while not perfect - morphologically defensible. Phonologically, however, it does not account for the internal clusters B -*kts*- and A -*ps*-. In view of this stalemate, one might note that there exists in Tocharian the verb B and A *kutk*- 'to embody' (q.v.) from IE \**ǵhud-sk* -, and one might wish to examine whether the words for "body" could possibly be tied up with that verb. An (as if) IE reduplicated formation \**ǵho-ǵhud-sk* -, extended with a suffixal \**-jon* -, would produce (anachronistic) PT \**kæ-kut-sk-yæn* -. Assuming that the -*t-s*- was perceived as a single sound -*ts*- and that palatalization only reached the -*k*-, we arrive at CT \**kæ-kuts-š-yæn* -. From such pronominal forms as B *mäksu* 'which, who' (n. *mäktu*), etc., from \**mä-kwäs-su* (n. \**mä-kwät-tu*), it is known that an internal syllable could lose its vocalization. One might then suggest that CT \**kæ-kuts-š-yæn* - was reduced to \**kæ-k<sup>u</sup>ts-š-yæn* - (there are problems here, but perhaps not insurmountable ones) > \**kæ-k<sup>u</sup>ts-š-šæn* - (assimilation) > \**kæ-k<sup>u</sup>ts-š-æn* - (simplification). This basic form was in West Tocharian extended with the *ēn*-stem final \*-*æ* and took on class V,3 flexion, while in East Tocharian it was extended with the *iH<sub>2</sub>*-stem final and took on class VI,3 flexion. The cluster \*-*k<sup>u</sup>ts-š*- developed further in two ways. First, in B the labial element was lost, as it should be before a consonant, and the cluster \*-*ktsš*- was assimilated or reduced to -*kts*-, while, second, in A the labiovelar was dissimilated to -*p*- (i.e. A \**kak<sup>u</sup>* - > *kap*-) and the cluster \*-*ptsš*- assimilated or reduced to -*ps*-. The final result was B *kektseñe*, A *kapšañi*. See also B *kutk*- 'to embody' (A *kutk*-), A *kotkum* 'embodiment', B *ku*- 'to pour' (A *ku*-).

B *kele* (m. [only sg.]) 'navel' is considered a thematic noun of class V,1. Although this word is attested only in the singular and, therefore, theoretically, could reflect either an original masc. thematic *o*-stem or a neuter *s*-stem, the radical -*e*- < IE \*-*o*- would favour the first alternative. From CT \**kælæ* < \**k<sup>u</sup>ælæ* < IE \**k<sup>u</sup>olHo-s*, cf. Gk. *πόλος* 'turning point', OIr. *cul* 'wagon' (du. \**k<sup>u</sup>olHō*). See also B *kokale* 'wagon' (A *kukäl*), B *kokalpānta* 'charioteer', A *kokalyiškam* 'small wagons'.

B *keme\** (m. [pl. only]), A *kam* (m.) 'tooth' are thematic nouns of class V,1, cf. B pl. *kemi*, A pl. *kamañ*. Endocentric adj. B *kemeṣṣe* 'of teeth, ivory' is formed to B *keme\**. From CT \**kæmæ* <

\**kæm<sup>b</sup>æ* from IE \**ǵombho-s* 'tooth', cf. Gk. *γόμφος* 'id.', Skt. *jāmbha-ḥ* 'id.'. Etymology originally Schulze 1923.

A *ken*- 'to call, invite' [forms a suppletive paradigm with A *kāk*-] (pres. I [2sg.] *kenät*, [3sg.] *kenäṣ* (Poucha), [3sg. med.] *kenträ*, [3pl.] *keneñc*, [3pl. med.] *kenanträ*, [ger.] *kenäl*, [inf.] *keṃtsi*, [impf. 3sg.] *keñä*). The handbooks classify this verb as thematic on the basis of the 3pl. forms *keneñc* and *kenanträ* with clearly thematic endings. The present class I has in East Tocharian athematic endings in the 3pl. as is to be expected. Conversely, the subjunctive always has a thematic 3pl. in the active, and in the 3pl. middle one finds a thematic ending beside an athematic one. Given that most of the forms of A *ken*- are unequivocally athematic (e.g. *kenäṣ*, *kenäl*), it might be assumed that the thematic 3pl. forms *keneñc* and *kenanträ* are somehow secondary. If A *ken*- is an original nasal present stem, as I am inclined to believe, it may be relevant to note that *aniṭ*-nasal presents were in East Tocharian relegated to subjunctive function, forming subj. I stems, as still seen in A subj. I *klinä*- 'to be obliged to', and in A *sinä*-, as found in the privative *asinät* 'insatiable'. The subjunctive I stems of this type were further extended with a thematic -*yä*- / -*ya*-suffix and thus transformed into subjunctives of type VII (see Hilmarsson 1991b for a discussion of this process). It is possible that in the wake of the transformation of "nasal pres. I into nasal subj. I", A *ken*- acquired the thematic 3pl. ending that characterized the nasal subj. I verbs, although A *ken*- itself survived as a present stem. Or could it be that the nasal present 3pl. in CT \*-*n-ænt*- is an archaism from IE \*-*n-ont*-? The IE basis of A *ken*- has not been successfully pointed out. There is no reason to assume a borrowing from West Tocharian and an ultimate connection with OCS *zvonū* 'sound' (Van Windekens 1976: 213). Perhaps one might think of a cognate in Lith. *kviēsti* (pres. *kviēčia*, pret. *kviētē*) 'to invite, call'. A nasal formation (as if) \**k<sup>u</sup>oiṭ-nu*- through CT \**k<sup>u</sup>aitnā* - > A \**kaitnā* - > \**kainnā* - would yield the present stem *kenä*- regularly (cf. A pres. \**kātnā* - > \**kānnā* - > *kānā* - to *kāt*- 'to spread'). However, because of the isolation of the Baltic word, and the unorthodox *oi*-grade nasal present, this is not very illuminating. Another possibility would be an association with Gk. *κίττωμαι* 'I am moved, go', cf. Lat. *cieō* 'I put in motion, call forth, make arrive'. A nasal present \**ki-n-u*- would produce CT \**kānā*- regularly, but morphological rearrangement of the zero grade root would change this form into \**kinā*- (cf. \**sinā*-, \**rinā*-, etc.). For the step from \**kinā*- to \**kainā*- or \**kāinā*- one



might either assume that the subjunctive vocalism was generalized (assuming that there was a subjunctive of the type *\*kəyā-* or *\*kāyā-*), or that – for some unknown reason – *\*kinā-* was interpreted as an *ā*-verb of the type A *\*senā-* (B *sain-*), and was treated as such. – The fact is that A *ken-* would be best interpreted as being a nasal present formation to an IE root with an *a*-coloured diphthong, cf. A *se-* ‘to lean on, rely on’ with the subj. I *señā-/a-*, indicating an earlier pres. I *\*senā-* from CT *\*sāinā-* with morphologically introduced normal grade for a reflex of the zero grade IE *\*sH<sub>2</sub>i-n-*, cf. Hilmarsson 1991d; also Hilmarsson 1991b: 116. This could lead us back to Pedersen’s suggested comparison (1941: 183) with Skt. *gāyati* ‘sings’, etc., although I cannot see at present how the semantic problems are to be overcome. An IE *\*gH<sub>2</sub>i-n-* would, after the morphological rearrangement of the root syllable of nasal presents, be reflected by CT *\*kāinā-*, yielding A *kenā-*.

B *kem* (f. [only sg.]), A *tkam* (f.) ‘earth, ground’ are root nouns of class V,3 (B gen.sg. *kenantse*, A pl. *tkañi*, loc.pl. *tkamsam*). Endocentric adj. B *kenasše*, A *tkamši* (< *\*tkanāši*) ‘of the earth’, and exocentric adj. B *k(e)nättse* (sic in a Šorčuq text for *kenatstse*\*) ‘earthly’. A cluster of initial obstruents is regularly preserved only in East Tocharian; therefore the CT preform is *\*tkənā(-m)*. This reflects an original IE acc.sg. form *\*dhǵhom-m* with *-n-* for *-m-* generalized in the paradigm from the nom.sg. where the final *-m* yielded *-n*, cf. Gk. *χθών* ‘earth, ground’, Hitt. *tēkan* ‘id.’, etc. Etymology originally Meillet 1913: 19. See also B *kañiye* (sic for *keñiye*) ‘of the earth’ (A *tkani*).

A *kem* (adj. indecl., also adv.) ‘wrong, false’ (with enclitics: *kennats*, *ken-āk*); often found in compounds, viz. *kem-pālk* ‘false doctrine’, *kempar* ‘incorrectly’. A matching form is found in the prefixed B *ankaim* (adj. indecl., also adv.) ‘wrong, false, reverse’; note the expression B *ankaim yām-* ‘to vomit’; also *ankaim pilko* ‘false doctrine’. B *ankaim* reflects an earlier prepositional phrase CT *\*æn + kāim-* ‘in a wrong/false manner’, *vel sim.*, with *ā*-umlaut in the initial syllable caused by the *ā*-vocalism of the following element. This vocalism invalidates Van Windekens’ (1976: 213) association of these words with Gk. *ποινή* ‘punishment’. The accent of B *ankaim* shows that the element B *-kāim*, A *kem* < *\*kāim* reflects an earlier form of two or more syllables, and it is likely that this form was an oblique singular with a lost ending. That is, *\*kāim* reflects an underlying *n*-stem in obl.sg. *\*-n-ä(m)* < IE *\*-n-m*. Furthermore, the retained prefixal nasal of

B *ankaim* implies that *-kaim* had an original accent that was on the second syllable of the word. Thus *\*kāim* derives from a trisyllabic form, counting the original ending. In Hilmarsson 1991a: 121, I suggested a connection with OIr. *gáu*, *gáo*, *gó* ‘lie’ and other Celtic forms. This was quite speculative though, and a better alternative might present itself through an association with Lat. *scaevus* ‘left’, Gk. *σκαίος* ‘id.’ from IE *\*skeH<sub>2</sub>i-uo-* ‘askew, left’, possibly derived from *\*skeH<sub>2</sub>i-* ‘shadow’. An *n*-stem acc.sg. *\*(s)keH<sub>2</sub>iuen-m* would yield CT *\*kāiw’ánä(m)*. The *-ä-* was regularly lost and this resulting form gave B *\*kāiyi* > *\*kāim* as found in B *ankaim*. In East Tocharian, the resulting form was *\*kāiw’m*, and if one may assume an assimilation of (*-iw’-* >) *-yw’-* to *-yy-*, the A form *kem* would be regular as well.

B *kene\** (m. [only sg.]), A *kam\** (gender hardly f., cf. Winter 1962b: 125, n.45 [= 1984: 146 n.45]) ‘melody, tune, song, rhythm’ occurs in West Tocharian only in the names of metres, cf. also A (loc.sg.) *kāpñe-kanam*, name of a metre. No nominatives are attested, but they can be safely posited as above (cf. loc.sg. B *kenene*, A *kanam*). For a discussion of the meaning, see Winter (l.c.). These thematic nouns of class V,1 (A loc.pl. *kamsam*) reflect CT *\*kənæ*. Further derivation depends on what etymology one prefers. One might follow Van Windekens 1962a: 180 and posit an earlier CT *\*k’ənæ* from IE *\*ǵh<sub>2</sub>uono-s*, cf. OCS *zvonŭ* ‘sound, tone’, Arm. *jayn* ‘voice’, etc. However, it would be semantically more satisfying to connect B *kene\**, A *kam\** with Lat. *canere* ‘to sing’, OIcel. *hani* ‘cock, (i.e.) singer’, and posit PT *\*kənæ* from IE *\*kono-s* to the root *\*kan-/kon-* ‘to sing’. That etymology was originally proposed by Van Windekens 1941: 25. See also B *kāim-* ‘to sing’, B *kāimo\** ‘song’.

B *kenek* (m. sg.) ‘shroud, linen-cloth’ is well attested, but apart from the possessive adj. *kenekāmñe* ‘pertaining to linen’ it has no relatives within Tocharian and no clear etymology. Possibly a loanword.

B *keni*, *kenñe* (du.; gender unknown), A *kanweñ* (m. du.) ‘two knees’ should be seen as a class VI,1 noun (dual type B *alyine\**, A *ālem* ‘two palms (of the hand)’), which would mean a late transfer from some originally neuter class. That interpretation is corroborated by the B plural form *keñintane* ‘on the knees’, glossed interlinearly with Turkish *tisinda* (i.e. *tizindä*) ‘on his/her knees’, apparently with a neuter plural ending. B *keni* is far more common than *kenñe*, extended with the extra dual marker *-ne*,



always obligatory in A, viz. *kanweṃ*. B *-ñ-* for *-n-* shows the eastern dialect feature of palatalizing *-n-* before *-i-*. The finals B *-i(-)* and A *-e-* must be seen in relation to the endings of class VI,1. The CT preform could be *\*kænwäy-* that yielded A *kanwe-* regularly (CT *-äy-* from *\*-än-* appears to yield this result in A, cf. again the nouns of class VI,1), while in B one might have expected *\*kenni*. But since this form was originally accented *\*kennf* (before the accent retraction in disyllabics), the geminate may have been degeminated due to pre-accentual position, cf. B *alétstse* 'foreign' with *-l-* instead of *-ll-* before the accent and *-tst-* instead of *-ts-* after the accent. It is still unclear to me, however, in how far this rule is applicable outside of suffixal syllables. Should it not apply to B *\*kenni*, the simplified *keni* could be analogous to unattested singular forms. The plural *keñinta* is based on the dual form, but might still bear witness to the original neuter flexion of this word. Endocentric adj. B *kenineṣṣe*, A *kanweṃṣi* 'pertaining to the two knees' are formed to the extended dual. CT *\*kænw-* clearly reflects IE *\*gony-*, cf. Gk. γόνυ 'knee', Skt. *jānu* 'id.'. Etymology originally Meillet 1911a: 147. For discussions of these forms, see Hilmarsson 1989b: 106-111, Adams 1991: 28sq.

- B *kenmer*, as cited by K.T. Schmidt 1980: 409 with the meaning "excrement", is – as far as I am able to establish – a ghost-word. Its occurrence in PK 7 M b6 reads *ysāra pitkenmer*, which can be read *pitk=enmer*, instead of Schmidt's *pit=kenmer*, and therefore represents *pitke*, a word of uncertain meaning but frequent occurrence, and *enmer*, a word of uncertain meaning but recurring in W 40 a4 *seriye enmer-ä stwār(a) trau(nta)*.
- B *kenta*, so read by Filliozat in W 32 a2, is read by Broomhead *kenne* 'on the ground', the loc.sg. to B *keṃ* 'ground' – probably correctly.<sup>2</sup>
- B *kentse* (m. sg.) 'rust, verdigris' is found several times in medical texts, always in the combination *eñcuwañ(ñ)e kentse* 'iron rust', except once *pilkeṣṣe kentse* 'copper rust, (i.e.) verdigris', constituting an element that went into the making of a small pill for certain ailments. It is probably a thematic stem of noun class V,1. Adams (unpubl.) cogently connects B *kentse* with Gk. κόνις (gen.sg. *-ιος*) f. 'dust, ash' and Lat. *cinis* (gen.sg. *-eris*) that he proposes might reflect a feminine acrostic *\*kónis*, gen.sg. *\*kénis-(e)s*. For Tocharian he proposes the preform *\*konis-o-*, a

thematic derivative. This seems to me wholly acceptable; IE *\*koniso-* would yield CT *\*kəñāsə*, and after the loss of *-ä-* after resonant, it may be suggested that *\*kəñāsə* suffered assimilatory depalatalization to *\*kənsə* and resulted finally in B *kentse* with regular insertion of *-t-* in the sequence *-ns-*.

B *keñiye\**, see B *kañiye*.

B *kepece\** (gender unknown) '± hem (of a garment)' is attested twice, both times in the obl.sg. *kepec*, which could imply a noun of class V,2. The meaning cannot be determined exactly, but apparently the hem or edge of a garment is being referred to (Van Windekens 1976: 214 "ourlet, bord", Thomas & Krause 1964: 186 "Saum"); cf. 322 MQ a3 *mā watsitse kepec ette länkaskemane yanmäṣṣalle 21 mā kepec ette länkaskemane osne ṣmalle* '[he] is not to enter [the house] letting the hem of the garment hang down 21 [he] is not to stay in the house letting the hem hang down'. Sieg & Siegling 1953: 208 n.3 point out that a Chinese version of this text has "sans laisser flotter la robe ...". Van Windekens (l.c.) suggests relationship with Gk. κόπτω 'I cut, smite', etc., to the IE root *\*(s)kep-* 'to cut, chisel, cleave'. This is may be possible, but the semantics of this IE root seems to indicate the cutting and splitting of rough material, such as stone and wood, but not the cutting or tailoring of clothes. One might also think of Lith. *kabėti* 'to hang' to an IE *\*kobh-*. There are probably further possibilities, so that on the whole the etymology of this word remains unclear.

B *kercapo* (prob. m.) 'ass, donkey' is of noun class VI,3 (obl.sg. *kercapai*, nom.pl. *kercapañ*). Spelling with *-cc-* occurs. Possessive adj. B *kercapaññe* 'of an ass'; diminutive formation *kercapiṣke* is found as a personal name. Although Van Windekens (1976: 214) takes B *kercapo* as an indigenous word, it has usually been considered a loanword from some Indic or Iranian source, the equivalent of Skt. *gardabhā-* 'donkey', but the details are unclear. The borrowing must have taken place before the lending source merged *\*o* and *\*e*, but after Tocharian merged *\*d* and *\*t* (or after the lending source merged these dentals). This is indicated by the *-c-* of *kercapo* that cannot reflect a palatalized *\*d*. See however discussion by Isebaert (1980: 92, 192) who takes *kercapo* as indigenous.

B *kerciṣe* (adj. [hapax]) 'radiant, ray-like'(?). This word is attested in W 33 b3 *āṣce sonopālya kerciṣe pāre ra matsi māsketār po*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Filliozat 1948: 76, Broomhead 1962a: 30.

*kartse* 'the head is to be massaged. As a ray-like throne(?) the hair will be quite good (again)'. This translation is based on that of Sieg 1955: 77 (taken up by Broomhead 1962a: 32), but Sieg does not tell us why he translates *kerciše* with 'radiant, (Germ.) Strahlen-'. The reading *kerciše* may not be certain; Filliozat<sup>3</sup> has *keryipe* (for *keryiše*). In view of these uncertainties, an etymology cannot be ventured at this point.

B *kerciye*\* (pl. tantum) 'palace' is presumably a masc. of noun class V,1 (obl. *kerciyem* [prose], *kercyem* [verse]). Occasionally spelled with -cc-. Endocentric adj. B *kercceye(m)šše*, *kerciyešše* 'pertaining to a palace'. The origins of this word are disputed. Van Windekens (1976: 215) favours derivation from IE \**ghortijo-s* and compares Lat. *hortus* 'garden', Gk. *χόρτος* 'courtyard'. This would, through CT \**kærcāyæ* > \**kærcīyæ*, yield B *kerciye*\*, pl. -iyi, regularly. The comparison with OCS *gradŭ* 'town', Oícel. *garðr* 'fenced place, fence', etc., from IE \**ghordho-* (already Meillet *apud* Lévi in Hoernle 1916: 379), is rejected by Van Windekens (*o.c.*), with the argument that \**ghordhijo-* ought to have produced a form with -is-, not -c-. This may be true, but it could be assumed that an IE \**ghordho-* had already yielded CT \**kærte* before the derivation producing \**kærcīyæ* took place, in which case -c- would be understandable. Isebaert (1980: 88) prefers to see in *kerciye*\* a borrowing from an Iranian source.

B *kerekauna* (m., only sg.) 'violent stream, torrent' is in West Tocharian quite isolated in its formation as a singular. The final -auna generally indicates fem. plurals to nouns whose singulars are masc., cf. B class II,1 *rekauna* 'words', *šewauna* 'pretexts', *krentauna* 'virtues', *palauna* 'praises', *taršauna* 'deceptions'. However, two of the East Tocharian correspondences, *palom* 'praise' and *tāršom* 'deception', are singular nouns (with the pl. forms *palonāñ*, *tāršonāñ*, resp.). A possible interpretation could be that the final \*-ā in these words was originally a collective marker that in most cases came to function as a plural ending, but could also – and did so in the cases of B *kerekauna*, A *palom*, *tāršom* – function as a singular (collective) ending. The words in -auna (pl. or sg.) are for the most part easily analyzable. Their -auna is suffixal, sometimes reflecting CT \*-ā-wān-ā, sometimes \*-æ-wān-ā. The latter is directly seen in MQ forms such as B *krentewnā*, or indirectly by the lack of ā-umlaut, in e.g. *rekauna*, *šewauna*. This clear formational pattern of the words in -auna

would favour an interpretation of B *kerekauna* in the same vein. Van Windekens' suggestion (1976: 214) that this word reflects a compounded \**koro-* 'rapid' + \**ghounā* 'stream, pouring forth' runs counter to this pattern and must be rejected. Rather, *kerekauna* reflects CT \**kærækawānā* that can be seen as a collective formation in \*-wān-ā < \*-wā + \*-H<sub>2</sub> to a stem \**kærækæ-* (actually \**kærækæn-*, cf. below). B *kerekauna* translates Skt. *ogha-* 'torrent, flood, violent stream'. If one posits for B *kerekauna* the meaning 'torrent, violent stream, eddy, whirlpool', this word might be derived from the IE root \**g<sup>h</sup>erH<sub>3</sub>-* 'to devour; (Germ.) Schlund' that in many languages has produced derivatives meaning 'devouring stream, torrent, whirlpool, eddy, violent and deep stream'. Many of these words are reduplicated formations, probably to some degree expressive or iterative, cf. Skt. *gārgara-* '(Germ.) Schlund, whirl, eddy', Lat. *gurgēs* 'eddy, whirlpool, deep water', etc. Especially interesting, because of its formation, is Lat. *vorāgō* '(Germ.) Schlund' (with generalized -g- from the position before -n-), presumably denominatively formed to *vorax* 'voracious', that, in turn, is formed with a tectal suffix added to an underlying abstract (IE) \**g<sup>h</sup>orH<sub>3</sub>-eH<sub>2</sub>* 'swallowing'. B *kerekauna* might be formed in a parallel manner. An IE \**g<sup>h</sup>orH<sub>3</sub>-o-* (adj.) 'devouring' (cf. Skt. *aja-gara-* 'goat-eating', Lat. *carnivorus* 'carnivore', Lith. *prāgaras* 'hell, (i.e.) devouring', etc.), extended with a suffixal tectal (as Lat. *vorāc-*), would through CT \**k<sup>w</sup>æræ-k-* produce B *kerek-*. As pointed out above, the Tocharian suffix -auna reflects (at least in some cases) CT \*-æ-wān-ā. However, *kreunauna* 'virtues', e.g., co-exists with the athematic B *krent-* 'good', and a derivation based on a thematic stem would here be incomprehensible. It might therefore be suggested that the suffix conglomerate \*-æ-wān-ā reflects an earlier \*-æn-wān-ā by dissimilation. Thus *krentauna* would be based not on the pure stem *krent-* but on an extended n-stem CT \**krænt-æn-*. Similarly, *kerekauna* would be based on an n-stem \**k<sup>w</sup>æræk-æn-* which has the advantage that the tectal suffix can thereby be seen as athematic and therefore quite likely identical to the suffix of Lat. *vorāc-*, and the formation *mutatis mutandis* identical to that of the n-stem Lat. *vorāgō*.

B *kerekem*, see B *kerketse*\* 'fetter'.

B *kerketse*\* (m. [only pl.]) 'fetter, chain' is a twice attested thematic noun of class V,1 (obl.pl. *kerketsem*). The suffixal -ts- (not -c(c)-) in the obl.pl. could indicate that this is not simply a substantivized adj., but an original subst., reflecting CT \**kærkáts(ts)æ* as if from

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Filliozat 1948: 76.

IE *\*korg<sup>h</sup>ho-t(i)o-*. Presumably, though, it is a Tocharian creation to a deverbative noun *kerke\** that may possibly be attested in the obl.pl. *kerkem* of PK 16 5 b3 (cited by Broomhead 1962b: 90 without comment), but I have not had an opportunity to check that form. B *kerke\** would be a regular deverbative abstract to B *kärk-* 'to tie, bind' (A *kärk-*), q.v. See also A *kärkšim* 'fetter', B *šerkw* 'string' (A *šorkäm\**).

B *kertte*, *kerte* (gender unclear) 'sword' is a noun of class V,1b (pl. *kercci*, *kerči*). The gender of B *kert(t)e* is unknown in the singular, but in the plural there is one instance of a feminine and two of a masculine. B *kert(t)e* is attested four times with a geminate and four times with a single dental. It seems necessary to take the geminate as original. There are three possible ways to explain the *-tt-*. First, it can reflect *\*-tw-*, but then that reflex is found only with verbs (type B *šärtt-* 'to spur on', *ritt-* 'to join') and not with their deverbative nouns (cf. B *šertwe* 'urging', *raitwe* 'means'), whereas the exception B *spertte* 'conduct' has an analogical *-tt-* from the verb B *spärtt-* 'to turn'; there is no verbal *\*kärtt-* that could have caused the introduction of *-tt-* for putative *\*-tw-* in B *kert(t)e*, although that may be accidental. Second, *kert(t)e* could be derived from an earlier *\*kerätte* with regular loss of (even accented) *-ä-* after *-r-*. This would reflect CT *\*kærättæ* that would have the look of an adjectival formation with the suffix *\*-ttæ* as found in the so-called positives (as opposed to privatives) of the type B *rinätte\** 'leaving, giving up', *yāmätte\** 'doing'. Such positives are formed to the subjunctive stems of verbs (B *rinä-*, *yāmä-*); the palatalization in the nom.pl. would harmonize well with such an origin. Explaining B *\*kerätte* in this manner would require positing a verb (subj. stem) B *\*ker-/kär-* in the meaning 'to cut', and positing for *\*kerätte* the meaning 'the cutting one, i.e. sword'. Unfortunately, no such verb is known in Tocharian, and the formation from the full grade rather than the zero grade presents a problem, although not an insurmountable one, if the verb in question generalized the full grade. In this case, B *kert(t)e*, through CT *\*kærättæ*, would be a Tocharian formation to the IE root *\*(s)ker-* 'to cut', as originally proposed by Couvreur 1950: 129. Third, B *kert(t)e* could be a loanword from some Iranian source. Winter 1971: 218 (=1984: 40) saw a close correspondence in Av. *karəta-* 'dagger' (cf. also K.T. Schmidt 1985a: 763) and assumed a Bactrian origin of this Tocharian word (denied by Schwartz 1974: 409). The fact that another Bactrian loanword, B *retke* 'army', has unexpected palatalization in the plural, i.e.

*recci*, as does *kert(t)e*, i.e. *ker(c)i*, might, according to Winter, indicate that these words belong together as a subgroup in the Tocharian vocabulary. While it seems likely that B *kert(t)e* actually is a loanword, the geminate would still be unexplained. One might either propose that the Iranian dental in question was simply heard as a geminate by Tocharian speakers, or that the *-te* was analyzed as suffixal and rendered with *-tte*, as would be normal in the corresponding indigenous adjectival suffix *-tte*, whereby this word received the palatalized plural expected for that formation, cf. B *kärkkälle* 'pond, mire', B *kokale* 'wagon' for the same type of plurals. [Unfinished, reference to Isebaert 1981: 89, 92.]

B *keru* (m.) 'drum, tambour' has a plural of class III,1 (*kerunta*) and thus has the appearance of a neuter. In the only instance where its gender can be seen in the plural, however, it is masculine. As seen by Pinault 1990: 177sq., B *keru* 'tambour' must be cognate with A *karel* 'id.', although differently formed. While A *karel* is an original gerundival formation to a verb that can – for formal reasons – only have been A *kary-* 'to laugh', B *keru* is not gerundival. Pinault suggests a formation of the type B *yāššu* 'begging', which seems possible; at least a formation of the type *šanmau* 'fetter' < *\*šānmā-m(ān)* seems excluded: *šarm* 'cause' and *yarm* 'measure' indicate that *-m* survived as such after root-final *-r-*; note also B *sārm* 'seed' to *sāry-* 'to sow'. If so, B *yāššu* and *keru* would reflect CT (verb stem final) *\*(y)ä- + \*-wä* < *\*-uñt-s*, cf. for the development of the final syllable B *tallāu* 'miserable' < *\*-ā-wä* < *\*-H<sub>2</sub>-uñt-s*. The B pl. *kerunta* has replaced expected masc. pl. *\*keruñc*. See also A *karel* 'drum', B *kery-* 'to laugh' (A *kary-*).

B *kery-* 'to laugh (intr.); ridicule (tr.)' (pres. II [3pl.] *keriyem* (prose), (*ke*)*ry(e)m* (verse), [ptc. med.] *keriyemane*, pret. III [ptc.] *kek(e)ru\**, caus. pres. IX [3sg.] *kerästrä*, [ptc.] *keräššeñca*), A *kary-* 'id.' (pres. II [3pl.] *karyeñc*, [ptc. med.] *karemām*, [impf. 3sg.] *karyā*, subj. V [3sg.] *karyaš*, *kareš*, [3pl.] *kareñc-m*). Such a paradigm pattern (pres. II ~ subj. V ~ pret. III) is abnormal; it seems possible that the non-causative forms of this verb belong to two different paradigms: one intransitive 'to laugh', and one transitive 'to ridicule, (Germ.) ver-lachen'. To the latter would belong the B pret. III *kek(e)ru\** and the East Tocharian subj. V forms. The West Tocharian forms are not problematic formally. The thematic pres. II stem reflects CT *\*kærŷä/ä-* with loss of *\*-f-* in verse, while the causative stem *keräsk-* consistently lacks the

stem marker of the non-causative. In East Tocharian the CT pres. stem *\*kārīyälæ-* gave *\*karyäla-* and the 3pl. *karyēñc* < *\*karyäñc* < *\*karya-ñc* is therefore expected. So is the impf. *karyā*. The subj. V A *karyaš* < *\*karyāš* is also expected (no *ā*-umlaut here in A). The forms with A *-re-* are problematic. There is no reason, however, to seek an Indo-European explanation for them as does Van Windekens 1976: 188. They are probably to be explained on purely East Tocharian premises. It seems possible to assume that after the syncope of A *-riy-* to *-ry-*, the sequence *-ry-* was – or could be – interpreted as *-r'-*, and since Tocharian *-r-* tended to resist palatalization, the palatal factor could be transferred to the following *-a-* (perhaps by metathesis realized as an epenthesis?), whereby *-r'a-* > *-ra'i-* > *-re-*. This took place in the form A *kareṃām*. In *karyēñc* epenthesis was already there for a different reason so that the sequence *-rya-* was preserved. In the subjunctive the pair *karyaš* and *kareš* shows that this metathesis was optional, or – if that is not a satisfactory answer – one could assume that original *-ryā-* did not suffer this change: *karyaš* would then be regular, while *kareš* and *kareñc* would be analogical to *kareṃām*. For CT one may reconstruct a pres. stem *\*kārīyälæ-*, on which other stems are presumably based. Van Windekens (1976: 188) associates this verb – probably correctly – with Lat. *horior* 'I encourage', Skt. *hāryati* 'likes, desires', Gk. *χαίρω* 'I rejoice' to IE *\*ǵher-* 'to rejoice in, desire'. CT *\*kārīyälæ-* reflects IE *\*ǵhor-iʷ-* or perhaps rather an iterative *\*ǵhor-eiʷ-*. See also A *karel* 'drum', B *keru* 'drum'.

- B *kest* (m. [only sg.]), A *kašt* (gender unknown [only sg.]) 'hunger'. The West Tocharian nom.sg. is found only in the compound *kest-yoko* 'hunger [and] thirst', but A *kašt* is clearly nom. and obl.sg. The noun class is not quite certain, but they are probably to be seen as root nouns of class V,3 (B gen.sg. *kestantse*). Variant spelling with B *-s-* for *-st-* occurs. These words reflect CT *\*kæstā*, which either represents an old nom.sg. *\*kæst* plus an *-ā* that was added to all monosyllables in final consonant, or reflects the old obl.sg. *\*kæstā(m)* generalized in the nominative. The adjectives B *kestašse* (*hapax*) 'pertaining to hunger' and B *kestatstse* (*hapax*) 'having hunger' are formed to an underlying *\*keštā-*. CT *\*kæst(ā)-* reflects IE *\*Kost-*, cf. Hitt. *kašt-* 'hunger', but the character of the initial tectal cannot be determined exactly as there are no further known cognates. A labiovelar seems excluded though on account of the Hittite form. Etymology originally

Friedrich 1925: 122. See also B *kešciye\** (A *kašši*) 'hungry', B *kāstuwer\** 'by night'.

- B *keš* (f.[?] obl.sg.), A *kaš* (f.[?] obl.sg.) 'sequence, series; counting, calculation; number, figure'. B *keš* can only be of noun class V,2, which implies a nom.sg. *\*keše* or *\*kešce*, and could therefore be a masculine (type B *meñe*, obl.sg. *meñ* 'moon') or a feminine (type B *āšce*, *āš(c)* 'head'). The appearance of a nom.sg. B *keš* in DA M 507 a11 (Pinault 1984: 24, 27) could mean that the oblique form has ousted the nominative form. A *kaš*, with the plural *kašañ*, seems to be a thematic noun of class V,1, but a late transfer from class V,2 is likely. An endocentric adj. A *kašaši* 'calculational, sequential' is formed to A *kaš* < *\*kaša*. By positing B nom.sg. *\*kešce*, A *\*kaš(c)*, and assimilation of *-šc* to *-šš* in the obl.sg. in West Tocharian (cf. B *āš*, the obl.sg. to *āšce* 'head', which is far more frequent than *āšc*) as well as in East Tocharian, these words would reflect a CT *\*kæšcæ*, obl.sg. *\*kæščä(m)*, from IE *\*kos-tē(i)*, acc.sg. *\*kos-ti-m*. This would imply an originally hysterodynamic paradigm, cf. A *kāc* 'skin'. The IE root is *\*kas-/kōs-* 'series, sequence', cf. Gk. *-κάς* and Skt. *-śās* 'in a continuous sequence with, following upon' (Klingenschmitt 1975a). Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991c: 155-160. A confirmation of the original *-šc-* in these words can be found in the adverbial A *kaššik* 'near', q.v. See also A *kašal* 'together', A *kašom* 'counted, arrayed', A *kāštār* 'many, numerous', B *keše* 'fathom' (A *kaš*).
- B *kešciye\** (adj.), A *kašši* (adj.) 'hungry, famished'. B *kešciye\** is an adj. of class I,1 (pl. *kešcī*); the expected prose form is unattested, but the syncopated verse form *kešcyē* (variant spellings with *-šc-* and *-š-*) is found several times. A *kašši* is an adj. of class II,1 (pl. *kkaššiñ* [sic]), and has suffered regular syncope and assimilation. Both are derived from CT *\*kæst-* (B *kest*, A *kašt*) 'hunger' by means of the palatalizing adj. suffix *\*-iyæ* < *\*-ijo-* < *\*-iHo-*. See also B *kest* (A *kašt*) 'hunger'.
- B *keše* (gender unknown), A *kaš* (gender unknown) 'fathom' is a thematic noun of class V,1 (B obl.pl. *kešem*, A obl.pl. *kašas*), presumably masc., reflecting CT *\*kæšæ* < *\*kæššæ* < *\*kæšyæ* with regular degemination of a non-suffixal consonant (cf. B *ešane* 'eyes' < *\*aššā-* < *\*ašyā-*, or B *mišo* 'urine' < *\*miššo* < *\*mišyo* < *\*meiḡhīōn*). Etymology is uncertain, but it is not advisable to seek a non-Indo-European origin (with Van Windekens 1976: 625). A connection with Skt. *hāsta-* 'hand' (Van Windekens 1941: 27) is conceivable but uncertain (CT *\*kæšyæ* < IE *\*ǵhos-iō-*). Possibly

better to connect with B *keś* 'sequence, number' (A *kaś*) < IE \**kos-ti-*; for CT \**kəsyā* < \**kos-jo-* one might then posit the meaning 'pertaining to sequences or calculation' > 'measure' > 'fathom'. See also B *keś* 'sequence, series' (A *kaś*), A *kaśal* 'together', A *kaśom* 'counted, arrayed', A *kaśśik* 'near', A *kāštār* 'many, numerous'.

A *kešti* '?' is a *hapax* of the bilingual 459 a3 /// *ṣi · kāwaṣi kešti waṣt* · . As long as the Sanskrit word being glossed is unknown, this word remains obscure.

B *keta* '±damage', see B *keto* '±damage'.

B *keto* (*hapax*) '±harmed' (if adj.) or '±damage' (if subst.). The meaning is not quite certain, but likely in view of A *kat* 'damage, harm' and B *keta* '±damage', cf. also A *kaci* 'harm'. The context describes a curse through which (M 2 a2) *su keto māsketrā*, i.e. 'he will be harmed' or '(there) will be damage'. This could be an adj. in *-o* (cf. B *moko* 'old') of class II,5, but one would then expect *o*-umlaut to have taken place; or it could be a subst., which, because of the lack of *o*-umlaut, would not be of class VI,2 (type *kolmo*\* 'ship', obl. *kolmai*), but rather of class VI,3ba (type B *kantwo* m. 'tongue', obl. *kantwa*), where *o*-umlaut may not have operated, cf. B *weta* 'fight', if to a nom.sg. \**weto*. Should this last alternative be the correct analysis, B *keto* would be the nominative to the oblique B *keta* '±damage'. This latter form occurs in DA M 507 a11 (Pinault 1984: 24, 27) and recurs in another Paris text (Pinault, l.c.), but in a mutilated context. The meaning of this word, again, is not completely certain, but Pinault suggests "dommage, préjudice", and it is probably an oblique singular form. It seems not too risky to assume that B (nom.) *keto* '±damage' and B (obl.) *keta* '±damage' are simply two case forms of the same word. An East Tocharian correspondence could then be seen in A *kat* (obl.sg.) 'damage, destruction' that in both its occurrences is a part of the locution *kat yām-* 'to damage' (lit. 'to make a damage'). These forms reflect CT \**kætā*, (obl.) \**kætā* (no *o*-umlaut in the nominative [-ā did not have a rounding effect(?)], and, therefore, analogically no *ā*-umlaut in the oblique in B). For further reconstruction, the testimony of A *kaci* 'harm' (q.v.) is relevant, for it is a derivative in \*-iyā to the forms discussed here. The palatalization product -c- before an -i- precludes derivation from IE \*-d- and \*-dh-, and allows only \*-t-. Therefore, association with Lith. *pā-gadas* 'spoiling' (IE \**g<sup>h</sup>edh-* 'to spoil, be destroyed'), suggested by Čop 1975b: 61, is inadvisable. CT

\**kætā*, (obl.) \**kætā*, (adj.) \**kæciyā*, rather reflect IE \**koteH<sub>2</sub>*, (acc.) \**kot-H<sub>2</sub>-m*, (adj.) \**kot(H<sub>2</sub>)-iHo-*, to the IE root \**ket-* 'to harm, damage, make war', cf. Luv. *kati-* 'harm, damage', OIr. *cath* 'fight', OIcel. *hǫð* 'battle'. Association of B *keto* and *keta* with IE \**ket-* by Adams (unpubl.), cf. Melchert 1987: 189 for the Anatolian cognates. See also A *kaci* 'harm, damage'.

B *ketwe*\* (m. [only pl.]), A *katu* (m.) 'ornament, jewelry' is a thematic noun of class V,1 (B pl. *ketwi*, obl. *ketwem*; A obl.pl. *katwas*). One instance refers to jewelry/ornament made of sandalwood, the remaining five instances refer to jewelry made of gold or silver. Cognate with B *kätt-* < \**kätw-* 'to place, join', these words reflect CT \**kætwæ* (lit. 'something well joined/fitted') from IE \**ghodh<sub>2</sub>yo-s*, but a deverbative formation to CT \**kätw-* 'to join' is quite plausible, cf. B *raitwe* 'means' to B *ritt-* < \**ritw-* 'to join', B *šertwe* 'urging' to B *šärtt-* < \**šärtw-* 'to urge', etc. The survival of *-tw-* in these words as against the assimilation to *-tt-* in the associated verbs is unclear, but could have something to do with accent: if accent followed the cluster, it was assimilated. See also B *kätt-* 'to place on, join with', A *kätw-* 'to deceive', A *kätwes* 'deceptions'.

B *ke<sub>u</sub>\** 'cow', see B *kau\** 'cow' (A *ko*).

B *kewe* (or *kewe-* ?) is a *hapax* found in 145 MQR b1 (*snai y)ś(e)lme śil ket[e] prākre manta ke[we] ///*. Meaning and etymology are unclear.

B *kewiye* (adj.), A *kowi* (adj., *hapax*) 'of a cow', (subst.) 'butter', with the verse alternant B *kewye* (which also occurs 3x in a single prose monastery record), is an adj. of class I,1. A *kowi* is found in 456 a1; the vocalism is analogical to the nom.sg. A *ko* 'cow'. Tocharian *-w-* suffers no palatalization before original \*-i-. These words reflect CT \**k<sup>h</sup>æwiya* < (as if) IE \**g<sup>h</sup>o(H)<sub>2</sub>-iHo-* 'pertaining to a cow', cf. Skt. *gāvya-* 'id.', Arm. *kogi*, etc., but the formation was probably Tocharian. See also B *ke<sub>u</sub>\** 'cow' (A *ko*).

A *klā-* 'to fall', see B *klāy-* 'to fall' (A *klaw-*).

B *klaiks-* 'to wither, dry up; be afflicted' (pres. IV [2sg. med.] *klaiksotar*, subj. V [inf.] *klaiksatsi*, pret. Ibβ [ptc.] *kaklaiksau\**), A *kleps-* 'id.' (subj. V [abstr.] *klepslune*, pret. I [ptc.] *kāklepsu\**). The handbooks stress the meaning '(Germ.) verkümmern' (so Thomas & Krause 1964: 99 and 189), but actually the usual meaning is 'to wither, dry up', cf. B 11 Š b3 *pwārane : sāmsārṣṣe*

*stām laukaññe yokye kleś mā tārknan-ne klaikatsi nta* 'In the fires the saṃsāra-tree [does not burn] long; the thirst-kleśa does not let it dry up / wither', or A 327 a6 /// (*kā*)klepsunt pāsākā /// 'with a withered garland'. Only in B 27 Š a2 is a translation with 'to be afflicted, worry' necessary, viz. (*tu*)sa tw=ānanda mā māsketār (*sic*) lāklessu mā ra klaiksotar 'therefore, Ānanda, you are not pained and you are not afflicted'. Van Windekens (1976: 219) suggests association with Gk. σκληρός 'dry, hard', σκελιφρός 'parched', but the root in question (IE \*skel-H<sub>1</sub>-, cf. Gk. σέλλω 'I dry up', aor. ἔσκλην) clearly requires a H<sub>1</sub>-extension and it is difficult to see how an appropriate preform can be reconstructed for Tocharian. Actually, a far better association was pointed out by Burrow (1980: 611), who pointed out a cognate in Skt. *kliś-*, *kleś-* 'to be troubled, afflicted'. The IE root here is \*kleik- 'to press, pain, afflict' (but see below), cf. beside Skt. *kliśṇāti* 'pains, torments', also OCS *klěštiti* 'to press, clamp on', *klěšta* 'tong', etc. In East Tocharian the sequence *k...k* has been dissimilated to *k...p*, cf. the similar phenomenon in A *kapśaṇi* 'body' as against B *kektseñe*. The membership of B *klaiks-* in present class IV could be an indication of original non-umlauted Tocharian *āi*-vocalism. However, since the present class of the East Tocharian verb is not attested, and, therefore, might have been class III as well as class IV, it is conceivable that the West Tocharian verb may actually have been of present class III originally, only recently transferred to class IV after the generalization of *āi*-vocalism. In that case the *āi*-vocalism would be the result of *ā*-umlaut, cf. B *klautkotār* to *klautk-* 'to turn' that also has secondarily generalized an umlauted vocalism. Thus, for CT one might reconstruct a subj. V \**kléiksā-* (if B *klāiksā-* is umlauted) or \**klāiksā-* (if non-umlauted), reflecting (as if) IE \*(ke-)kloiḱs- or \*(ke-)kloH<sub>2</sub>iḱs-, and the IE root, or rather stem, might then be posited as \*kleik-s- or \*kleH<sub>2</sub>iḱ-s-.

B *kläky*/// '?' is the incomplete onset of a *hapax* found at 136 MQR b5 ///[·š]pā enkärstättē kläky///. Quite unclear.

B *klämparya\** (presumably f.), A *klumpri\** (gender unknown) is a *nomen metri* (4×18 syllables). Both are *hapax legomena*, attested only in the loc.sg. (B *klämparyaine* 359 Qu b2, A *klämparyam* 278 b1). While this word may well be indigenous, it has no visible connections within Tocharian. The exact meaning is therefore unknown, and no etymological explanation is possible. For CT one might reconstruct \**klämpäriyā*, assuming a rounding of A -*ā*- to -*u*- in the position before -*mp*-.

B *klānk-* 'to ride, travel by vehicle' (pret. Ibß [1sg.] *klānkāwa*, [3sg.] *klānka*), A *klānk-* 'id.' (subj. V [ger. masc. pl.] *klānklye*, pret. I [3sg.] *klānka-m* (Sieg & Siegling & Schulze 1931: 436)). This verb may be denominative to the noun represented by B *klenke*, A *klank* 'vehicle', but the relationship could be the other way around. It is rather rare to find *ā*-umlaut in East Tocharian subj. V forms but not unique. For CT one may then reconstruct a subj. V \**klānkā-* (accent unclear) and pret. I \**klānkā-* > \**klānkā-*, possibly accompanied by a pres. III \**klānk-ā-*. Van Windekens (1941: 40) correctly associated this verb with ModGerm. *lenken* 'to guide, conduct, steer' (*Wagenlenker* 'wagon-driver'), MHG *lenken* 'to bend', OIcel. *hlekk* 'link', etc. If denominative, B and A *klānkā-* reflect (through CT \**klānk-ā-*) an IE \**klong-*. See also B *klenke* 'vehicle' (A *klank*), B *klānk-* 'to doubt'.

B *klānk-* 'to doubt' (pres. I [3sg. med.] *klyeñktrā* (*sic*), *klyentrā* (*sic*), [impf. 3sg.] *klyeñci*, subj. I [inf.] *klānktsi*, [abstr.] *klānkälyñe*), A *klānk-* 'id.' (pret. I [ptc.] *klānko\**, caus. pres. VIII [inf.] *klānkāssi*, subj. VII [opt. 1pl.] *klānkñimā(s)*). The A subj. VII is ambiguous: formally, it could be a causative or a non-causative, for the East Tocharian subj. VII always matches a West Tocharian subj. I, cf. the discussion in Hilmarsson 1991b: 70-71. Adams (unpubl.) cogently proposes to connect BA *klānk-* 'to doubt' with BA *klānk-* 'to ride, travel by vehicle', both deriving from the IE root \**kleng-* 'to turn, wind, bend'. The palatalization in the West Tocharian present I forms indicates CT \**klyānkā-* from IE \**klēng-*; this present could be taken as a reflex of an original Narten-present. See also B *klānkarške\** 'doubtful, wavering', B *klānk-* 'to ride, travel by vehicle' (A *klānk-*), B *klenke* 'vehicle' (A *klank*).

B *klānkarške\** (adj.) 'doubtful, wavering' is a *hapax* of H 149 add. 166 b3 *eśñ=āmtpi ... wātkaḱtsana ... mā rano klānkarškana* 'both eyes ... resolute ... and not wavering'. It is formed to the verb B *klānk-* 'to doubt' in the same manner as B *māntarške\** 'evil' is formed to B *mānt-* 'to be evil-minded', but the details of the formation are unclear. Possibly, -*ške* is in origin not merely a suffix but the second member of a compound, reflecting CT \**-šakā* 'stepping, treading' (< IE \**siko-s*), cf. B *siknam* 'steps' (with regular depalatalization in a nasal present and a morphological zero grade), B *šiko* 'step' (< \**seikōn*). The first part *klānkar-* might be seen as a verbal noun in -*ār* (as if < IE \*-*r*). Thus *klānkarške* from \**klānkār* + *šakā* would have had the original meaning 'stepping into doubt, turning to doubt', and *māntarške* would be 'stepping into evil, turning to evil'. For a

parallel formation, see A *kāwālte* 'beautiful' from \**kāwā* + *lāte* 'having left desire'. See also B *klānk-* 'to doubt' (A *klānk-*), B *klānk-* 'to ride, travel by vehicle' (A *klānk-*), B *klenke* 'vehicle' (A *klānk*).

- B *klānts-* 'to sleep' (pres. XII [3sg.] *lkāntsān[n]-n(e) (sic)*, [2pl.] *klāntsāñcer* (G-Su 1), [impf. 3sg.] *klāntsāññi*, [3pl.] *klāntsāñyem* (verse), subj. V [abstr.] *klāntsāñe*, [opt. 3sg.] *klāntso<sub>i</sub>*, pret. Iaß [3sg.] *klyantsa* (Krause & Thomas 1960: 189)), A *klis-* 'id.' (pres. VI [3sg.] *klisnāš*, [impf. 3sg.] *klisñā*, [inf.] *klisnātsi*, [ptc.] *klisnānti\**, subj. V [3sg.] *klesas*, [opt. 3sg.] *klisiš*, pret. Ia [ptc.] *kliso*, caus. subj. IX [abstr.] *klisāšlune*). The correspondence B *klānts-* ~ A *klis-* is quite regular, deriving from an underlying \**klāns-* with *t*-insertion in B (*-ns-* > *-nts-*), and *i*-epenthesis in A (\**klāns-* > \**klā<sup>i</sup>ns-* > \**klis-*). The rule that changes \**-lā-* to *-āl-* is usually inactive or reversed in closed syllables. The present XII formation of West Tocharian has replaced an earlier nasal present VI, cf. A *klisnā-* (for a discussion of pres. class XII, see Hilmarsson 1991b). For CT one may reconstruct pres. VI \**klānsnā-*, subj. V (\**klānsā-/*)\**klānsā-*, pret. I \**klyānsā-*. Van Windekens (1976: 218), wrongly separating A *klis-* from B *klānts-*, associates the latter with Skt. *klam-* 'to be tired' (*klāmyati*, *klāmati*), while Adams (1988: 32) takes both B *klānts-* and A *klis-* as reflecting IE \**kl<sup>h</sup>H-s<sup>eb</sup>-* (Skt. *klāmyati*). While the positing of an original *s<sup>eb</sup>-* present is probably wrong, since the Tocharian verbs are athematic, their derivation from an IE \**kl<sup>h</sup>H-s-* 'to be tired' might be possible, assuming that the laryngeal is *-H<sub>1</sub>-*. The semantic development from 'to be tired, weak' to 'to sleep' would have a sort of parallel in Germanic, cf. Goth. *slepan* 'to sleep' to the root \**sleb-* 'to be weak, hang down'. An IE \**kl<sup>h</sup>H<sub>1</sub>-s-* would yield CT \**klāns-* regularly, cf. B *kantār* 'is realized, comes into being' < IE \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>H<sub>1</sub>-tro-*. — An entirely different etymological proposal might be made. It is perhaps preferable, as it allows a connection with another Tocharian verb and avoids the otherwise rather obscure and isolated Skt. root *klam-*. IE \**Klei-* 'to incline' is attested with a present-forming nasal affix in B *klin-* 'to be obliged' (A *klin-*), cf. Gk. *κλίνω* 'I incline, lean', etc. This stem form, i.e. (as if) IE \**kli-n-*, is, in my opinion, the basis of the *sk-*verb B *kālsk-* (< \**klānsk-*) 'to set (of the sun)', *q.v.*, attested only in the *set-*structure subj. V *klāskā-* (abstr. *klāskālñe*, *kālskālñe*). As *klāsk-* (*kālsk-*) from \**klānsk-* can be seen as an *sk-*extension of \**klān-* (for the actual form BA *klin-*, with *-i-* as the morphological zero grade replacement of expected *-ā-*, see *s.v.*), so CT \**klāns-* can be

seen as an *s*-extension of that same \**klān-*. Both extensions turn up with *set*-markers: \**klānskā-* > \**klāskā-* and \**klānsā-*. Semantically, the notions 'to sleep' and 'to set (of the sun)' may easily be derived from an original 'to incline, lie down'. The problem of the non-palatalized *-l-* is not serious. Nasal presents have in Tocharian generalized a non-palatalized initial. One therefore finds, e.g., *s-* in B *sinastār* 'is oppressed', *siknaṃ* 'places the foot', etc., instead of a phonologically expected palatal *š-*. It must be stressed that this is a morphological depalatalization that does not indicate or prove that IE \**i* did not cause palatalization in Tocharian. An \**-i-* did cause palatalization of all relevant sounds except tectals and \**-w-*. That is to say, it seems preferable to derive B *klānts-ā-*, A *klis-ā-*, from CT \**klāns-ā-* < (as if) IE \**kli-n-s-H<sub>2</sub>-*. See also B *klāntsauñe\** 'drowsiness, lethargy', B *klāsk-* 'to set (of the sun)', B *-klāsko\** '(sun)set', B *kāly-* 'to stand' (A *kāly-*), A *kālycam* 'down-turned', B *klyemo\** 'standing, being', B *kālymiye* 'quarter, region' (A *kālyme*).

- B *klāntsauñe\** (presumably *n.*) 'drowsiness, lethargy' is an abstract of neuter class III,1. Variant *kālāntsauñe\** occurs. This noun has come into being in the following manner: To the subj. V stem *klāntsā-* (of the verb *klānts-* 'to sleep') was formed a *men*-stem noun \**klāntsā-mā(n)*. This yielded (an unattested) B \**klāntsau-*. A derivative abstract \**klāntsāmāñye* (a formation in CT \**-iyæ*) produced the attested B *klāntsauñe\**. For a parallel fem. formation, cf. B *kātkauña* 'joy'. See also B *klānts-* 'to sleep' (A *klis-*), B *klāsk-* 'to set (of the sun)', B *-klāsko\** '(sun)set', B *kāly-* 'to stand' (A *kāly-*), A *kālycam* 'down-turned', B *klyemo\** 'standing, being', B *kālymiye* 'quarter, region' (A *kālyme*).
- B *klāsk-* 'to set (of the sun)' (subj. V [abstr.] *klāskālñe*, [*kā*]lsk[*ā*]lyñ(e)), only attested in the subjunctive V, reflects CT \**klāskā-* that, in my opinion, comes from an earlier \**klānsk-ā-* and is therefore related with — and formed in a parallel manner to — B *klānts-*, A *klis-* 'to sleep', cf. the discussion under that verb. Ultimately from (as if) IE \**klin-sk-H<sub>2</sub>-*, cf. Gk. *κλίεται* '(the day) wanes'. It was frequent practice in Tocharian to extend nasal present stems with a suffixal *-s-* or *-sk-*, although usually that formation was limited to the present stem and not generalized in the entire verb as in this case. See also B *klānts-* 'to sleep' (A *klis-*), B *-klāsko\** '(sun)set', B *kāly-* 'to stand' (A *kāly-*), A *kālycam* 'down-turned', B *klyemo\** 'standing, being', B *kālymiye* 'quarter, region' (A *kālyme*).



- B *-kläsko\** (presumably n.) '(sun)set' is a *hapax* found in the Otani text 19.1 in the compound *kom-kläskomem* 'from the west' (i.e. 'from the [direction of the] sun-set'). It is an abstract of noun class III (type B *palsko* 'thought') to the verb B *kläsk-* 'to set (of the sun)', *q.v.* See also B *klänts-* 'to sleep' (A *klis-*).
- B *klauso\** (f.) '?' is a *hapax* of H 149. add. 7 a3 *ywemškai klausai*. Both words look interesting, but their meaning is unclear.
- B *klautk-* 'to turn, become' (pres. IV [3sg. med.] *klautkoträ*, subj. V [inf.] *klautkattsi* (MQ), pret. Ibß [1sg.] *klautkāwa*, [ptc.] *kaklautkau*, caus. pres. IX [3sg.] *klautkāššäm*, subj. IX [inf.] *klautkätsi*), A *lotk-* (only intrans.) 'id.' (pres. VII [3sg.] *lotānkāš*, subj. V [2pl.] *lotkac*, pret. I [3sg.] *lotāk*, [3pl.] *lotkar*, [ptc.] *lālotku*). Although divergent in their paradigmatic build-up, the original identity of B *klautk-* and A *lotk-* cannot be doubted. Their history must be viewed in connection with the history of B *klutk-* 'to turn oneself (around); (caus.) to make happen, make into' and A *lutk-* (only trans.) 'to make happen'. B *klautk-*, A *lotk-*, and B *klutk-*, A *lutk-*, all go back to a single paradigm (see full discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 25sq.). An original ablauting paradigm CT (pres. VII) *\*klutānkā-* : (subj. V) *\*klēutkā-/ \*klūkā-* : (pret. Ia) *\*klyutkā-* : (ptc.) *\*klutkāu* split in two and generated two different paradigms: one with a radical diphthong generalized from the subjunctive stem, and a second with radical *u*-vocalism generalized in most forms (for the subjunctive, see below). After that, the development took different directions in A and B, resp. In East Tocharian the forms with a diphthong were specialized in a non-transitive function, and stuck to the original paradigm pattern (pres. VII, subj. V, pret. I), except that the preterite was no longer of class Ia but of class Ib and that the past ptc. had to be changed to *lālotku*; both changes resulted from the introduction of full grade vocalism in the root. The subjunctive (late CT *\*klēutkā-*) did not suffer *ā*-umlaut in A, because here the root was accented, while *ā*-umlaut regularly operated in the preterite and the past participle (late CT *\*klautkā-*). Since *ā*-umlaut did not take place in the subjunctive in A, the diphthong generalized in the present stem in that language was (CT *\*-au-* >) A *-au-* > *-o-*, and not A *-āu-* > *-o-*. In B the situation was different. Here *ā*-umlaut had a wider application and took place not only in the preterite but also in the subjunctive. This led to the generalization of *āu*-vocalism in the entire paradigm, i.e. in the present as well. After that, B *klautk-* had the look of an *ā*-verb, i.e. a verb with a non-ablauting radical *ā*-vocalism (type B *ās-* 'dry up', *ārtt-* 'love', *ār-* 'cease',

etc.), and was transferred from present class VII to class IV, which is the present type favoured by *ā*-verbs. Conversely, B *klutk-* preserves the original present VII ([3pl. med.] *kluttañkentār*) and pret. Ia ([3sg.] *klyutkā* (Winter 1980b: 556), [ptc.] *klutkau*) formations, accompanied by a regular causative paradigm, while A *lutk-* has only causative (transitive) forms. The subjunctive to B *klutk-* is not attested, but system reasons would necessitate positing a subj. V B *\*klāutkā-/ \*klūtā-*. The privative B *anklautkatte\** 'irreversible, unturning' is formed to a medial subj. V stem *\*klāutkā-* to the verb B *klautk-*; the suffixal accentuation is responsible for the retention of the prefixal nasal (cf. Hilmarsson 1991a: 23sq.) – The loss of the initial tectal in A *lotk-/lutk-* is unexplained, but possibly due to dissimilation. The *u*-vocalism in the various forms is of a twofold origin. In the preterite B *klyutkā* it represents an IE *e*-grade *\*-eu-*, while elsewhere (B pres. *kluttañkentār*, A *lutk-*) it is the morphological representative of the zero grade IE *\*-u-*; phonologically one would have expected BA *\*klāt-*. Etymologically, these verbs have been much disputed. In my opinion, (1) B *klutk-* and A *lutk-* (CT *\*klutk-* for earlier *\*klāt-*), (2) B *klyutk-*, (3) B *klautk-* and A *lotk-*, reflect virtual IE (1) *\*klud-sk-*, (2) *\*kleud-sk-*, (3) *\*kloud-sk-*, respectively, a Tocharian *sk*-formation to the extended IE root *\*kleud-*, cf. OÍcel. *hljóta* 'to be allotted, attain', *hljótask* 'to happen, become'. Full discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 25-27. See also B *klutk-* 'to turn oneself' (A *lutk-*), B *klautke* 'appearance, manner, function' (A *lotāk*).

- B *klautke* (m.), A *lotāk* (m.) 'appearance, manner, function' are nouns of class V,1 (B pl. *klautki*, A pl. *lotkāñ\**, perl. *lotksā*). They are abstract nouns formed to the verb B *klutk-*, A *lutk-*, as B *raitwe* 'means' to *ritt-* 'to join', B *ketwe*, A *katu* 'ornament, jewelry' to B *kātt-* 'to place on, place together, join', etc. See also B *klautk-* 'to turn, become' (A *lotk-*), B *klutk-* 'to turn oneself' (A *lutk-*).

- B *klautso* (f.), A *klots* (f. [du.]) 'ear' is a feminine of class VI,2 (B obl.sg. *klautsai*, du. *klautsane* [prose], *klautsne* [verse], du. gen. *klautsnaisāñ\** [verse]; A du. *klošām*, gen. *klošnis*). Occasionally one finds B *-s-* written for *-ts-*. A *klots* is found once in a Berlin fragment, while a form A *klos*, sometimes cited in linguistic literature, is not 'ear', but belongs with the verb *kāl-* 'to bring'. While already Meillet (1911a: 150) related this word with the IE root *\*kleu-* 'to hear', it was Pedersen (1941: 73-74) who suggested that it continued a stem in *\*-tjon-*. The CT sg. preform can be

posited as *\*kläutso* < (as if) IE *\*kloutjōn*, an *n*-stem extension of a *ti*-stem (cf. Skt. *śrūti* 'listening'). This *n*-stem need not have been of Indo-European origin though, for it seems impossible to derive the dual forms from it. The *-s-* of A *klošām* is analogical to that of the dual *ašām* 'eyes'. B *klautsane/klautsne* and A *klošām* therefore point to a CT *\*kläutsā-næ*. If one takes away the extra dual marker *\*-næ* of whatever origin, one is left with CT *\*kläutsā* (confirmed by B *klause-pilši* 'pricking up one's ears' < *\*kläutsā*). This form seems to derive from an unextended *ti*-stem. While the final of an IE *\*klouti-H<sub>1</sub>* would through *\*-i* ultimately develop into a Toch. *\*-ä*, the palatalization product would presumably not have been *\*-ts-* but *\*-c-*, i.e. one would get CT *\*kläucä*. It is possible that this CT form was changed into *\*kläutsā* on the analogy of the singular forms. On the other hand, an IE *\*klouti-H<sub>2</sub>* (> *\*-tyä*) would yield CT *\*kläutsä* regularly. A further possibility that might be explored is that of assuming an *n*-stem: *\*kloutjen-H<sub>2</sub>* > CT *\*kläutsāñä*, and somehow getting rid of the nasal in the extended form: *\*kläutsāñä-næ* > *\*kläutsāñnæ* > *\*kläutsännæ* > *\*kläutsänæ* interpreted as *\*kläutsä-næ*. For the judgment of the dual marker CT *\*-næ*, the endocentric adjective A *klošnāši* 'pertaining to the ears' may be of some relevance, but it is conceivable that *-ā-* here is an error for *-a-*, cf. A *timaši* 'pertaining to the two', formed to a dual *\*tima*, as against *tosmāši* 'pertaining to them (fem.)' formed to the plural *\*tosmā* (see discussion in Hilmarsson 1989b: 33). In West Tocharian an endocentric *klautsaišše* 'pertaining to the ears/gills' is formed to the obl.sg. *klautsai*, and *klautsanešše* 'pertaining to the (two) ears' to the du. *klautsane*. Furthermore, B *klautsaiñe\** (m. [sg., hapax]) 'earring' is a substantivized adjective formed to *klautsai*, cf. for the formation A *pokeṃ* 'bracelet' to *poke* 'arm'. For a discussion of the Tocharian dual, see now most recently Hilmarsson 1989b (esp. p. 101sq.), Adams 1991, Kortlandt 1991. See also B *klyaus-* 'to hear' (A *klyos-*), B *klyomo* 'noble' (A *klyom*), B *-kälwe* (A *-klyu*), B *klāw-* 'to be called' (A *klāw-*), B *klāwi* 'renown'.

A *klaw-* 'to fall', see B *klāy-* 'to fall' (A *klaw-*).

B *klāw-* 'to be called, be proclaimed' (pres. IV [3sg. med.] *klowoträ*, *klyowoträ*, subj. V [abstr.] *klāpalñe* (MQ), pret. Ibß [3sg.] *klāwa*, [ptc.] *kaklāwau*, caus. pres. IX [1sg.] *(klā)wäskau*, [ptc.] *klāwäššeñca\**, subj. IX [inf.] *klāwätsi*), A *klāw-* 'to call, proclaim' (pres. IV [3sg.] *klawa(s)*, pret. I [2pl. med.] *klāpac*). An interchange of *-w-* and *-p-* is generally only found in words that have an original labial occlusive; however, there are unmistakable

instances where an etymological *\*-μ-* appears as *-p-*, such as here in the form A *klāpac*; the context of B *klāpalñe* is unclear, but this form could belong here. For a discussion of this verb's transitivity/intransitivity, see K.T. Schmidt 1969: 52, 248. B *klowo-* occurs twice and *klyowo-* three times. As a palatal onset would be quite unique in present class IV (B *šompo-* 'to be arrogant' has a special explanation), *klyowo-* may have been secondarily palatalized, e.g. influenced by B *klyaus-* 'to hear'. This seems unlikely, however, for one might then have expected a palatal in the entire paradigm. I find it likelier that the pres. IV conjugation of B *klyowo-*, *klowo-*, has replaced an earlier pres. III formation B *\*klyewe-*, and that the pattern B *\*klyewe-* ~ *\*klāwā-* (subj. V) parallels B *ñewe-* (pres. III) ~ *nuwā-* (subj. V) 'to roar', *lyewe-* (pres. III) ~ *lāwā-* (subj. V) 'to send'. The form *klowo-* would then reflect an attempt to normalize the pres. IV pattern of this verb. The reason for the replacement of *\*klyewe-* by *klyowo-* would have been the generalization of *ā*-vocalism in this verb, i.e. the stems *\*klāwā-* of the subj. (presumably attested in the form B *klāpalñe*) and *\*klāwā-* of the preterite gave the impression that the verbal root had an unchangeable *ā*-vocalism. This *-ā-* was then generalized in the present stem also, whereby that stem took up the conjugation pattern favoured by *ā*-verbs. This did not occur in the verb *lyewe-* ~ *lāwā-* because here the preterite stem had a different ablaut grade, i.e. *\*lyāwā-*. Thus for CT one might reconstruct a pres. *\*klyaw-æ-* and subj. V *\*klāwā-*, and while the latter stem appears to reflect an IE *\*(ke-)kloy-* (plus CT *\*-ā-*) or possibly some other *o*-grade formation (cf. OCS *slovę* 'I am called, am renowned'), the stative pres. *\*klyaw-æ-* would reflect *\*klēu-* of whatever function. Should *klyowo-* be secondary to *klowo-*, this latter form could be seen as a stative based directly on the subj. *\*klāwā-*. See also B *klāwi* 'renown', B *klyaus-* 'to hear' (A *klyos-*), B *klyomo* 'noble' (A *klyom*), B *klautso* 'ear' (A *klots*), B *-kälwe* 'renown' (A *-klyu*).

B *klāwi* (m. [sg.]) 'renown' is presumably a neuter of class II,2, formed to B *klāw-* 'to be called, be proclaimed', cf. B *wāki* 'difference' to *wāk-* 'to differ', etc. Also found in the compound *ñem-klawi* and the derived possessive adj. (class III) *ñem-klawissu*. See also B *klāw-* 'to be called' (A *klāw-*), B *klyaus-* 'to hear' (A *klyos-*), B *klyomo* 'noble' (A *klyom*), B *klautso* 'ear' (A *klots*), B *-kälwe* 'renown' (A *-klyu*).

B *klāy-* 'to fall' (pres. IV [3sg. med.] *kloyoträ*, [ptc. med.] *kloyomane*, subj. V [3sg.] *klāyaṃ*, [opt. 3pl.] *klāyoyeṃ*, [abstr.]

*klāyalñe*, pret. Ibß [1sg.] *klayāwa*, [ptc.] *kaklāyau*, A *klaw-*, *klā-* 'id.' (pres. IV [3sg. med.] *klawatār*, subj. V [3sg.] *klās-ām*, [opt. 3sg.] *klāwiš*, [abstr.] *klālune\**, pret. I [3sg.] *klā*, [3pl.] *klār*, [ptc.] *kāklo*). All of the forms of this seemingly disparate paradigm developed regularly. The pres. IV correspondence B *kloyo-* ~ A *klawa-* can only reflect a CT preform with palatalized \*-w-. The subj. V correspondence B *klāyā-* ~ A *klā-* bears witness to the contraction of \*-āwā- (< \*-āw'ā-) to -ā- in East Tocharian, as described and explained by Winter 1965: 203sq. (=1984: 169sq.); the same kind of specific East Tocharian contraction took place in the preterite. The past ptc. A *kāklo* reflects earlier *\*kākklāw'āu*, again through contraction, and therefore matches B *kaklāyau* precisely. The stem form *klāyā-* of West Tocharian did not change into *\*kloyā-* (cf. B *soy* 'son', *soy-* 'to be satiated', -oy- [optative marker], etc., all from \*-āy-), because *klāyā-* reflects earlier *\*klāw'ā-*. The optative stem A *klāwi-* is based on the contracted subjunctive stem *klā-* with a non-organic -w- inserted between the monosyllabic stem and the optative marker on the analogy of the optatives *wāwi-* (*wā-* 'to lead'), *tāwi-* (*tā-* 'to place'), *skāwi-* (*ske-*, *\*skā-* 'to make an effort'), and *sāwi-* (*šo-*, *\*sā-* 'to live'); of these only *sāwi-* has an organic -w- and served as a pattern-forming model for the others, see the detailed discussion of this phenomenon in Hilmarsson 1994. The present IV formation in both languages strongly indicates that the inherent root vocalism of this verb is a Tocharian \*-ā- that theoretically could reflect IE *\*a*, *\*ō*, or any of the laryngeals in interconsonantal position. The root-final palatal \*-w- is puzzling; a generalization of the \*-i- of a *\*-i<sup>eb</sup>*-present is quite *ad hoc* and one might have expected to see traces of the *\*-i-* in East Tocharian. It may be better to assume that the entire Tocharian paradigm is based on an original formation in *\*-eH<sub>1</sub>-*. Etymologically, one might connect this verb with Lith. *kliūti* 'to land accidentally in a situation; to stick, be left behind', Latv. *klūt* 'to reach, come to, attain, become', Lith. *pa-si-kliūti* 'to rely on, hold on to', etc. These Baltic forms reflect an IE root *\*kleuH-*, but for Tocharian one might posit *\*kleHu-* (cf. *\*keuH<sub>2</sub>-* in Baltic vs. *\*keH<sub>2</sub>u-* in Tocharian, s.v. B *kau-* 'to slay'). Assuming that the laryngeal in this root was *\*-H<sub>2</sub>-*, the basis for the Tocharian verb might be posited as *\*klH<sub>2</sub>u-eH<sub>1</sub>-* that yielded CT *\*klāw'ā-* that further developed into *\*klāw'ā-* either by addition of \*-ā- and subsequent contraction of *\*-ā-ā-* to *\*-ā-*, or a stem form *\*klāw'* was abstracted and extended with *\*-ā-*.

B *klēna* 'sound', see B *klēne* 'sound'.

B *klēne* (gender unknown) 'sound' is found only once in PK 17 8 b2 *snai klēne* 'soundless', beside 389 MQR a1 *snai klēna* 'id.' (also attested only once). As there is a derived possessive adj. B *klēnē* 'resounding' (adj. class III with fem. obl.sg. *klēnauntsai*), A *klano\** 'id.' (fem. obl.sg. *klanoṃtsām*), from CT *\*klānā-wā* (final from IE *\*-unt-s*) clearly derived from an underlying *\*klānā* and not *\*klānā*, one might assume – although not with complete certainty – that *klēna* beside *klēne* is simply a lapsus. B *klēne* is formed as an abstract to the verb B *kāln-*, the two thus reflecting CT *\*klān-* and *\*klānā*. See also B *kāln-* 'to resound' (A *kāln-*).

B *klēnē*, A *klano\** 'resounding', see B *klēne* 'sound'.

B *klēnkarññāññē* '?' is a hapax of W 41 b2 (o)rotstse [ai]pau *kektseñtsa sanāpalle kartse māka [kle]ñkarññāññē* 'a great cover/film is to be smeared on the body. [It is] a very good k.', or (with Sieg 1955: 78) "sehr beliebt als Einreibung auf dem Körper ...". Meaning and etymology quite unclear. Perhaps to be related to the equally unclear hapax B *klēnkarññē*? See also B *klēnkaryo*, *klēnkarya* '(Skt.) rāsnā'.

B *klēnkaryo* (gender unknown) 'Vanda roxburghii, (Skt.) rāsnā' is a noun of class VI,3 (presumably feminine). It is attested once in Y 2 b3 in a list of medical ingredients. The form B *klēnkarya* is attested three times, likewise in medical texts (497 Š a9, W 14 a4, W 37 b1), and could be an alternant of *klēnkaryo* (cf. B *wertsyo* beside *wertsiya*), but it might also be an adjective (W 14 a4 *klēnkarya yākšīye* could be parallel to the expression *ysārñā yākšīye* 'wheat flour'). Etymology unclear. Possibly related to the hapax *legomena* B *klēnkarññāññē* '?' and *klēnkarññē* '?'.

B *klēnke* (m.), A *klānk* (m.) 'vehicle' is a thematic noun of class V,1 (B obl.pl. *klēnkem\**, A nom.pl. *klānkañ*) from CT *\*klānkā* < IE *\*klōngō-s*, a deverbative (originally) abstract to the verbal root *\*kleng-* 'to bend, wind, turn'. In turn, CT *\*klānkā* is presumably the basis of the denominative verb BA *klānk-* 'to ride, travel by a vehicle' (q.v.). The proper name B *Klēnkarako* is discussed by Pinault 1987b: 79sq. See also B *klānk-* 'to doubt' (A *klānk-*).

B *klepe* (presumably m.) 'theft' is a hapax found in the following context: H 149. add. 8 b3 *lyakām kr(au)ptrā : snai-pewam : wi-pewam : stwer-pewam : makā-pewam : klepe mallastrā : wesperke sparkāššām : lyakām sompastrā* 'Thieves he gathers: the footless, two-footed, four-footed, many-footed. The theft is denied (or:

suppressed), the *wesperke* is removed. He takes the thieves unto himself'. The translation of *klepe* with 'theft, stealing', given this context and given the verb B *kälyp-* 'to steal', must surely be extremely likely. Formally, B *klepe* is a regularly formed deverbative abstract, reflecting IE *\*klopo-*, of a type extremely common in Tocharian.

- A *kleps-* 'to wither, dry up', see B *klaiks-* 'id.'.
- B *klese* (gender unknown) designates some kind of food. It occurs quite often in the "Klosterrechnungen", but its precise meaning cannot be gathered, cf. a typical passage 433 MQ 6 *kantine yiksye ok tom piš šankām klese tau piš šankām* 'flour in the bread: eight tau [and] five pounds; *klese* : a tau [and] five pounds'. Formally, one might see in *klese* an original abstract to the verb B *¹käls-* 'to pour, gush; press'. Its subj. stem *\*klätsā-*, as argued *s.v.*, presumably represents a CT subj. V *\*kläsā-*, to which B *klese* would be regularly formed. This is uncertain, however, as long as the precise meaning of B *klese* is unknown. See also B *¹käls-* 'to pour, gush; press' (A *käls-*).
- B *klestetstse\** (adj.) 'sullied' is a *hapax* attested in 560 Š a4-5 *sa (= su) panikte käššimse wasti klestetse šai* 'the garment of Buddha, the Teacher, was sullied'. This is an exocentric adj. formed to an unattested B *\*kleste* 'dirtiness' (*vel sim.*). B *\*kleste* reflects CT *\*klæstæ*, but further reconstruction is hypothetical. Conceivably, Van Windekens 1976: 220 may be right in associating this word with Germ. *Klatz* 'spot of dirt', Du. *klatten* 'to sully', etc. One might point to OIcel. *klessa* 'spot of dirt', *klessa* 'to sully, make spotted'. B *kleste\** 'spot of dirt, dirtiness' might then reflect IE *\*glod-to-* (with regular development of *\*-TT-* to Toch. *-st-*, cf. B *lasto* 'pod, husk' < IE *\*H<sub>1</sub>ludh-tōn* to the root *\*H<sub>1</sub>leudh-* 'to grow' [Adams 1988: 39]) to an extended IE *\*glod-* parallel to *\*glei-* (with various extensions) 'to smear, stick'.
- B *klin-* 'to be obliged to' (pres. X [3sg.] *klinaššām*, subj. I [3sg.] *klin-ne*, [opt. 3sg.] *kliñi-ñ*, pret. III *klaintsa* (520 frgm. 1 a1)), A *klin-* 'id.' (pres. X [2sg.] *klinäšt*, subj. I [2sg.] *klintar* (*sic*)). In West Tocharian one also finds forms with initial *kly-*. Generally, initial palatalization has been removed in nasal presents (and forms derived from them), but here the *-l-* may have been secondarily palatalized again. The pres. X stem is an extension of the athematic stem seen in the subjunctive, and, indeed, the former has replaced the latter in the present function, relegating it to

- subjunctive function. This was a common occurrence in Tocharian (cf. the description and discussion of this phenomenon in Hilmarsson 1991b), although usually the unextended formation, ousted from the present function, continued to be athematic only in West Tocharian, while in East Tocharian it was extended by a thematic suffix *-yā/-ya-*. The verb A *klin-* was the exception, retaining its athematic conjugation. For CT one might reconstruct a pres. I *\*klinā-* (with generalized *-i-* as a zero grade replacement of expected *\*-ā- < \*-i-*). This verb was correctly associated with Gk. *κλίνω* 'I incline, lean' to the IE root *\*klei-* 'to incline' by Frisk 1960: 875. See also B *klänts-* 'to sleep' (A *klis-*), B *kläsk-* 'to set (of the sun)', B *-kläsko\** '(sun)set', B *käly-* 'to stand' (A *käly-*), B *klyemo\** 'standing, being', B *kälymiye* 'quarter, region' (A *kälyme*).
- B *klokašce\** (f.), A *klyokäs\** (gender unknown) 'pore, opening on the body' is in West Tocharian a fem. noun of class V,2 (loc.sg. *klokašne*, nom.pl. *klokašci*, obl.pl. *klokaštām*), and presumably also in East Tocharian where only the abl.pl. *klyokäššāsāš* (2x) is attested. This word has a cognate in Lat. *cloāca* (*clōvāca*, Varro) 'sewer' and the verbs *cluere*, *cloāre* 'to cleanse', cf. also Lith. *šlúoti* 'to brush, clean out', *šliaukti* 'to brush' to the IE root *\*kleuH-* 'to cleanse'. It is inviting to see the same velar suffix in Lat. *cloāca* and in Toch. *kl(y)ok-*. The Tocharian meaning of the word refers to the body's pores and openings as channels for emitting unclean bodily fluids. As Lat. *cloāca* derives from *\*kleuāk-*, so one might for Tocharian reconstruct an (as if) IE *\*kleuH-k-*. This would yield CT *\*klyāwāk-* and through the regular change of *Rä* to *äR* we get the form *\*kälywāk-*. If one may now postulate that the *-ā-* here was (exceptionally/regularly ?) rounded to *-o-*, or rather that *-wā-* here became *-o-*, this form appears as *\*kälyok-*. With suffixal extension, the CT preform might then be posited as *\*kälyokšcæ*. This preform yields A *klyokäs\** regularly, while in West Tocharian one must reckon with dissimilatory depalatalization to get the form *\*klokašce* and finally, with anaptyxis, *klokašce\**. See also A *klu-* 'to make clear'.
- A *klop* (n.) 'misfortune, suffering, pain, (Skt.) *duḥkha*' has a plural of class III,1 (*klopant*) and III,2 (abl. *klopāntwāš*). It forms the endocentric adj. *klopaši* (*hapax*) 'dolorous' and (to the pl.) *klopāntwāši* (Krause & Thomas 1960: 145). Most frequent is a possessive adj. in *-su*, *klopasu* 'unhappy, suffering, unfortunate, dejected', once apparently formed to the plural and further extended by *-ts*, i.e. *klopamtsuts*. A *klop* < *\*klapa* (through the

East Tocharian rounding of *a* to *o* before *p*) reflects CT *\*klæpæ*, possibly from IE *\*ghlobo-m*, cf. OIcel. *glap* 'mistake, misfortune', *glapp* 'id.'. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1986a: 112-124 (1986b: 105-114). See also A *oklop* 'in danger'.

A *k(l)otäk\** (fem. pl.) '?' is a hapax of 249 b1 /// [k](l)[o]tkasyo tñi käsont (sic) tämyo pük kärsnāl wram knānmuneyo lyalyku [c]i '... by your shining(?) k. [and] therefore everything that is to be known is enlightened by you through knowledge'. For *käsont*, see A *\*käs-* 'to be bright(?)'. Formally, *k(l)otkasyo* is an inst.pl. to a noun that has the appearance of being an abstract of the type *lotäk-* 'turning' to *lutk-* 'to turn', except that *k(l)otäk\** seems to be of feminine gender in the plural. As the meaning is unclear and the reading is not quite certain, no etymology can be ventured.

B *klu* (gender unknown), A *klu* (m. sg.) 'rice' is in both languages attested only in the singular. Sieg & Siegling & Schulze (1931: 27) point out that the form A *kälweñi* of a contextless Berlin fragment might be seen as the masc. nom.pl. to an adjectival *kälwem\** 'pertaining to rice' to A *klu*. If this is correct, A *klu* would reflect earlier A *\*kälwa* or *\*kälwā*, for *kälwem\** reflects A *\*kälwalāñña* < *\*kälwalāñña*, and that, in turn, would require seeing B *klu* as a borrowing from East Tocharian (otherwise one would have expected B *\*kalwe*, *\*kalwo*, or *\*kalwa*). It is likely that knowledge of rice reached the Tocharians from the East and that, therefore, the East Tocharians were the first to get acquainted with it; settling on a designation of it, they then passed it on to the West Tocharians. The endocentric adj. B *klusse* 'pertaining to rice' is formed directly to B *klu*. Should A *kälweñi* be correctly interpreted as an adjective to A *klu*, this word must count as indigenous. Van Windekens (1976: 222) suggests a connection with Skt. *śāru-* 'arrow, spear' (note Gk. *κῆλον* 'arrow, shot' if from *\*κελφον*) from the IE root *\*kel-* 'thin shaft, stiff straw, arrow', which may be possible, but is not particularly striking. One might perhaps rather think of the IE root *\*kel-* 'to cover, hide' as seen in OE *hulu* f. '(Germ.) Schale, Hülse', OHG *helawa*, *helwa* '(Germ.) Haferspreu' from Gmc. *\*hulwō*, *\*helwō*. Note also Gk. *κολεός* 'sheath'. An IE *\*k̑l-uo-/k̑l-yeH₂/k̑l-yeH₂* would through CT *\*kälwæ/\*kälwā/\*kälwā* result in A *klu* and produce the adjectival A *kälwem\**. Thus, the rice would have derived its name from its pod or husk, which is, of course, one of its salient features.

A *klu-* 'to make clear' (pres. VIII [3sg. med.] *klu[štā](r)*) is a hapax of the bilingual 461 b4 where it translates Skt. *(u)[tāni]karoti* in

the sense 'to make clear, explain', cf. Couvreur 1967[69]: 162, 164. For CT one may posit the pres. VIII stem *\*klusā-/k̑lusā-*, which might possibly reflect IE *\*kluH₁-sb-* to the root *\*kleuH₁-* 'to clean, clear out', cf. Lat. *cluere* 'to clean', Lith. *šlūoti* 'to clean out, brush'. Should this be a correct connection, the laryngeal of the root – until now of unknown quality – would have to be *\*H₁*, for while *\*uH₂* or *\*uH₃* would yield Toch. *\*wā*, the sequence *\*uH₃* would probably yield Toch. *\*u*, cf. *\*iH₁* > Toch. *\*i*, while *\*iH₂*, *\*iH₃* become Toch. *\*yā*. See also B *klokašce\** 'pore' (A *klyokās\**).

B *klu-* 'to stroke' is a verbal root that the handbooks have posited solely on the basis of the pret. I form *klawāte-ne*. This form is here seen as being a part of the paradigm of B *klyep-* 'to touch', q.v.

A *klumpäryam* (loc.sg.), see B *klampärya\**.

A *klumts\** (m.[?]) 'thread(?)' is a hapax of 1 b4 *tmas ... kcäk štwar wāknā spe(sinā)sā klumtsäsyo sopis* 'then ... he passed over the fourfold nets with threads(?) of sphaṭika [= (Germ.) Bergkrystall]' (cf. Sieg 1944: 4, who in n.9 draws attention to the Chinese parallel supporting such a translation). The nom.sg. form posited here follows that of the handbooks. The attested obl.pl. *klumtsās\** probably implies the athematic noun class V,3, but, since it is uncertain whether the *-t-* is original or epenthetic, the nom.pl. form cannot be posited with certainty (*\*kluñci\** or *\*kluñši*, or even *\*klumtsi* or *\*kluñši*?). The flexion is surely not thematic as claimed by Van Windekens 1976: 222 who posits a formation in *\*-nt-jo-*. The unclear formation of this word makes any etymological suggestion hazardous.

B *klup-* 'to rub, squeeze, masturbate' (pres. VI [3sg. med.] *klupnātär\**). This verb is attested twice in the text 334 MQ b8, 9. As argued by Adams (unpubl.), the traditionally posited verbal root *klus-* and the reading *klusnātär* cannot be correct. There is no way to get a palatalization of the sibilant. The text in question shows many signs of sloppy or unorthodox orthography; what with this and the fact that the signs for *s* and *p* are often not distinguishable in Tocharian manuscripts, Adams is surely right in positing this verb as *klup-*. B *klupnā-* shows the morphological zero grade of the root, replacing regular *\*kläp-* from IE *\*Klu-P-*. Adams furthermore suggests this Tocharian word may be related to Lith. *glaūbti* 'to press to the breast' and OIcel. *klýpa* 'to pinch, press'. The Baltic connection is dubious, for *glaūbti* probably

enters in a secondary apophonic relationship with Lith. *glėbti*, *glóbtii* 'to embrace' and would, therefore, not have an original *u*-diphthong. However, the connection with OIcel. *klýpa* might be correct, cf. also OHG *klūbōn* 'to pluck', etc., to an IE *\*gleubh/b-* 'to flench, pinch; cleave'. Thus, B *klup-* < CT *\*klup-* for *\*klāp-* reflects IE *\*ghlubh/b-*.

B *klus-*, see B *klup-* 'to rub, squeeze, masturbate'.

A *kluspe* '?' is a *hapax* of 321 b6 III *śkaṃ kārste-m kārūṇyo* : *yāmwe-m kluspe tmāṣ [mā]* III 'and I cut it with compassion [and] I made for him(?) a *kluspe* then not'. The context is unyielding and does not allow a guess as to the meaning of *kluspe*. Unclear.

B *klutk-* 'to turn oneself (around); (caus.) to make happen, make into' (pres. [3pl. med.] *kluttankentār*, pret. Ia [3sg.] *klyutkā* (Winter 1980b: 556), [ptc.] *klutkau*, caus. pres. IX [3pl.] *klutkāskem*, subj. IX [inf.] *klutkāstsi*, pret. II [2sg.] *klyautkasta*, [ptc.] *keklyutku*), A *lutk-* (only trans.) 'to make happen' (pres. VIII [3sg.] *lutkāṣṣām*, subj. IX [opt. 3sg.] *lyutkāṣiṣ*, pret. III [1sg.] *lyockwā*, [3sg.] *lyockās*, and pret. II [3sg.] *lyalutāk*). The optative form A *lyutkāṣiṣ* is interesting for the reason that it adds further indication that there existed in Tocharian a causative subjunctive V with initial palatalization, cf. the imperatives of the type B *pika* 'remove!' discussed by Hilmarsson 1991a: 51sq. Such a causative formation agrees with the non-causative paradigm of B (cf. in particular the pret. B *klyutkā*). A subjunctive to B *klutk-* is not attested, but system reasons would necessitate positing a subj. V B *\*klāutkā-/klūtā-*. That subjunctive produced the derivative noun B *klautke*, A *lotāk* 'appearance, manner, function'. See also B *klautk-* 'to turn, become' (A *lotk-*), B *klautke* 'appearance, manner, function' (A *lotāk*).

B *klyauccamom*, see B *klyaucasi* 'paste'.

B *klyaucasi* '(some kind of) paste' is a *hapax* attested in Y 2 a6 *kuñcitāṣṣe ṣalywe balāmpa klyaucasi yamaṣle sugantāmp=ese pākṣalle* "Sesamöl [ist] mit balā zu einer Pasta zu machen [und] mit Sugandhā zusammen zu kochen" (Sieg 1955: 66). This word has no etymology. However, as the infinitive final *-tsi* is often written *-si*, its formation could be interpreted as an infinitive (cf. B *śwātsi* 'food', *yoktsi* 'drink', the infinitives of *śwā-* 'to eat' and *yok-* 'to drink', resp.), and a further form of the verbal stem in question could be seen in another *hapax*, i.e. B *klyauccamom* '?' that could

be interpreted as the masc. obl.sg. of a verbal adjective in *-mo*. This latter form occurs in the bilingual 529 D b4 III *thitam* · *klyauccamom* · *tāmram* · *pilke*, but unfortunately the preceding Sanskrit word has lost its onset, so that no meaning can be ascertained. Should this be a correct interpretation of these two words, they would be derived from a subj. II stem *\*klyauccā-* to a verbal root that would probably have to be posited as *\*klyautk-*. Given the meaning 'paste' of *klyaucasi*, the verb may have had the meaning 'to knead, press, mash', *vel sim*. An IE connection might then be seen in Skt. *glau-h* 'ball, mass of something pressed into a ball', OE *clott* 'clot, clump', MLG *klōt* 'clump', OE *clēot* 'clump', etc., to an IE *\*gleu-d-*, an extension of *\*gleu-* to IE *gel-* 'to form into a ball, press, knead'. CT *\*klyauccā-/klyautkā-* would reflect an (as if) IE *\*glēud-sk-*.

A *klyaum*, see B *klyomo* 'noble' (A *klyom*).

B *klyaus-* 'to hear, listen' (pres. II [3sg.] *klyauṣām*, [3sg. med.] *klyeṣṣtr* (MQ), [3pl.] *klyausentār*, [impf. 1sg.] *klyauṣim*, [ptc. med.] *klyausemane*, subj. II [3sg.] *klyauṣām*, [opt. 3pl.] *klyauṣiyem* (prose), *klyauṣyem* (verse), [inf.] *klyauṣsi*, *klyeṣṣi* (MQ), [priv.] *enklyauṣātte\**, [imp. 2sg.] *pāklyauṣ*, [2pl.] *pāklyauṣso\**, pret. Ib [1sg.] *klyauṣāwa*, [3pl.] *klyeṣṣare* (MQ), [3sg. med.] *klyauṣāte*, [ptc.] *keklyauṣu*), A *klyos-* 'id.' (pres. II [3sg. med.] *klyoṣtār*, [inf.] *klyossi*, [impf. 3sg.] *klyoṣā*, pres. X [3pl.] *klyoṣāṃseñc*, [3sg. med.] *klyoṣnāstār*, [impf. 1sg.] *klyoṣāṃṣāwa*, [ptc.] *klyoṣāṃṣant*, subj. II [3sg.] *klyoṣāṣ*, [3pl.] *klyoṣeñc*, [opt. 3pl.] *(kl)yoṣiñc*, [imp. 2sg.] *pāklyoṣ*, [3sg.] *pāklyossū*, [2pl.] *pāklyoṣās*, pret. I [1pl.] *klyoṣāmās*, [ptc.] *kaklyuṣu*). The entire paradigm has the vocalism B *-au-*, A *-o-*, from CT *\*-æu-*, as shown by the MQ writing *-ew-*, *-ē-*, in the pres., subj., as well as the pret. stem. Although it is not universally recognized, the East Tocharian past ptc. *kaklyuṣu* has the same vocalism, for here *-klyuṣ-* has suffered reduction in an internal syllable (i.e. CT *\*-klyæuṣ-* > A *\*-klyauṣ-* > *\*-klyāwṣ-* > *-klyuṣ-*). Thus, A *kaklyuṣu* matches B *keklyauṣu* perfectly. The privative B *enklyauṣātte\** has preserved the prefixal nasal, because of the suffixal accentuation of the underlying subjunctive stem (cf. Hilmarsson 1991a: 109sq.). The 3sg. imp. A *pāklyossū* is attested only once (370 4) and appears to be the equivalent of Skt. *śṛṇótu* (cf. 414 b2). Krause & Thomas (1960: 259) suggest *pāklyossū* reflects a bare verbal stem + *\*-sye*, but this is not clarifying. Since Sieg & Siegling (1908: 926), B *klyaus-* and A *klyos-* have been correctly associated with Skt. *śrōṣati* 'listens' to IE *\*kleu-s-* 'to hear, listen'. The CT pres. and subj. preform was *\*klyæuṣā-/*

\**klyæusā-*. As the vocalism, combined with the preceding palatalization, can only reflect an IE \*-ēu-, it seems possible that these forms reflect a thematized IE *s*-aorist or a Narten-type *s*-present – or possibly a subjunctive formation to either of these. This latter alternative could derive support from the 3sg. imp. A *pāklyossū* that one might understand as a preserved 3sg. non-subjunctive form \**klēus-t* followed by a particle (perhaps Krause & Thomas' \*-*sye*). The lack of *ā*-umlaut in the preterite stem is presumably an indication that it is based on the pres./subj. stem. See also B *klyomo* 'noble' (A *klyom*), B *-kālywe* (A *-klyu*), B *klautso* 'ear' (A *klots*), B *klāw-* 'to be called' (A *klāw-*), B *klāwi* 'renown'.

B *klyemo\** (adj. [hapax]) 'standing, being, (Germ.) sich befindend' is a verbal adj. of class II,5 to the verb B *kāly-* 'to stand'. This word is found in St. Ch. 00316.a a3 *klyemoṃ warne lwasāts misampa mit panit wirot* 'honey [and] molasses with the flesh of animals living in water is incompatible' (not '... flesh of animals in stagnant water'?). See B *kāly-* 'to stand' (A *kāly-*), A *kālycam* 'down-turned', B *kālymiye* 'region' (A *kālyme*).

B *klyep-* 'to touch' (pres. II [3sg. med.] *klyeptrā*, pret. Iba [3sg. med.] *klawāte-ne*) is cited by Van Windekens 1976: 223 and glossed with Skt. *saṃmṛṣati*, Pāli *sammasati*, but without attestation. I have not been able to find it in other publications. One may agree with Adams (1989a: 242) that *klyep-* should be associated with B *kālyp-* 'to steal', assuming an original meaning 'to lay hand to'. However, Adams' inclusion of *klyep-* in a paradigm with the subj. V (abstr.) *klāpalñe* must be incorrect, because presents of class I or II are never accompanied by subjunctives of class V (Krause's exception [1952: 63] B *klātsāt* beside alleged pres. II *kaṣṭār* is not pertinent: these forms belong to two different verbs, see B <sup>1</sup>*kāls-* 'to pour, gush; press', and <sup>2</sup>*kāls-* 'to goad (cattle)', resp.). B *klāpalñe* (and B *kaklāparmem*), whose meaning is not ascertainable, because of the broken context, could belong with B *klāw-* 'to be called'. Contrarily, it seems reasonable to include the preterite form *klawāte-ne* (attested only once), whose meaning is clearly 'to apply some kind of pressure by the hand', probably 'to stroke' (cf. 5 Š b5 *pudñāktentse kektseño klawāte-ne lyawā-ne* 'he took hold of / stroked the Buddha's body [and] rubbed it') in a paradigm with *klyeptrā*. Possibly, the pres. I, or probably rather II, B *klyeptrā*, may be the present to the subj. I \**kālyp-* as found underlying the subj. IV *kālypi-* of the verb *kālyp-* 'to steal'. Such a pattern is rare, but well attested all the same, cf. B pres. II *ceṇkem* vs. subj. I *taṅktsi* 'to hinder', pres. II *ceśām* vs. subj. I *takalyñe* 'to

touch'. The vocalic alternation seen in B *klyep-* and *kālyp-*, apparently reflecting IE \**klēp-* and \**klep-*, certainly gives the impression of a Narten formation. The preterite stem *klawā-* appears to reflect \**klop-*. See also B *kālyp-* 'to steal', B *kālp-* 'to attain' (A *kālp-*), B *klepe* 'theft'.

B *klyiye*, *kliye* (f.), A *kāli* (f.) 'woman' is in West Tocharian taken to be of class II,1, and in East Tocharian of class VI,3. Both paradigms are irregular in their classes and most forms require specific comments. First, West Tocharian: B *klyiye* is the most common nom.sg. form, attested 10 times in the texts available to me, alternating with *klyīye* (1x), *kliye* (3x) and *kliye* (1x). The dialectal distribution of these forms is interesting. Out of the eleven forms with palatalized liquid, nine are from eastern dialect texts, only one from a central text (Šorčuq), and one from a western text (MQR). Two of the four forms with a non-palatal liquid are from central dialect texts (Šorčuq) and two are from texts in the Hoernle (London) collection, neither of which has any indication of being an eastern dialect text (H add. 149 64 b4, H 150 127 a2). Since secondary palatalization before (Tocharian) -i- is a typical feature of the eastern West Tocharian dialect, the conclusion is inviting, not to say necessary, that the original or standard form of the nom.sg. was *kliye* and not *klyiye*. For the relevance of this, see below. The B obl.sg. shows a remarkable array of forms: *klai* is attested 4 times (including Filliozat's<sup>4</sup> M 1 b6 and b7 *klaiṃ* which Sieg 1955: 79 asserts must be read *klai*); *klaino* is found once (P 4 a6), and *klaiñ* is found twice. Strangely, *klai* and *klaiñ* are found in the same texts: 511 S a2, b4, and 570 MQ a4, b2. The secondary cases are formed to an oblique *klaiṃ\**, viz. perl. *klaiṃtsa* (var. *klainsa* and *klañtsa* [the latter surely an error for *klaintsa* or *klaiñtsa*]), comit. *klaināmpa*, but the all. *klaiñis* (found twice in eastern texts) appears to be formed to an obl. *klaiñ*, for an original \**klainās* ought not to have changed -*ās* to -*is* after which the -i- could – in the eastern dialect – have caused palatalization of the nasal. Rather, \**klaiñās* changed its -*ā*- to -i- between the two palatals. The obl.sg. is further discussed below. The B plural *klaina* (gen.pl. *klainānts*) has the plural marker -*na* as do a few other nouns of class II,1 denoting feminine beings (*aśiyana* 'nuns', *śamñāṃśkana* 'girls', *śerśkana* 'little sisters', *śnona* 'wives', etc.). As pointed out in Hilmarsson 1986a: 218 (= 1987[89]a: 35), B *klyiye/klyiye* shows the main characteristics of noun class VI,2 (-*ai(-)* in obl.sg. and nom.pl.)

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Filliozat 1948: 91.



and may have been transferred from that class to join the class II,1 feminine beings. Our finding above that the non-palatalized *kliye* is the original nom.sg. form would bear this out, for a non-palatalizing *-iye* is one of the two nom.sg. finals of class VI,2, alternating with *-o* (cf. B *sconiye* ~ *scono* 'hate'). Then to East Tocharian. The canonic nom.sg. form is A *kūli* (some 8 times, with the variant *kūly* once before a vowel), but *kūlyi* is attested 3 times. The non-palatalized A *kūli* accords well with standard B *kliye*. The A obl.sg. is *kūle* (= B *klai*), on which the secondary cases are based: abl. *kūleyās*, all. *kūleyac*, etc., with *-e-* from the obl. form for expected *\*kūlāyās*, *\*kūlāyac*, etc. The A nom.pl. and obl.pl. *kūlewāñ*, *kūlewās*, resp., appear to have analogically acquired the endings of A *sewāñ*, *sewās* 'sons', probably because these two words are parallel in their secondary case forms: *kūleyās*, *kūleyac*, like *seyās*, *seyac*. The membership of A *kūli* in noun class VI,3 is therefore secondary, and this word, like B *kliye*, may be seen as having belonged to class VI,2 originally. The non-palatalizing final B *-iye* is secondary in class VI,2 (cf. Hilmarsson 1986a: 229), co-existing with, and partly replacing, the original final B *-o* from IE *\*-ōn*. The obl.sg. also reflects an *n*-stem form. As shown by Winter (1989: 111sq.), the class VI,2 obl.sg. *-ai* reflects CT *\*-ān-ā(m)*. The diphthongization may have taken place through anaptyxis with later loss of the nasal (cf. B *oksai* 'ox', etc.). One might then have expected B *klai* as an *n*-stem class VI,2 obl.sg., and this is indeed one of the attested forms. It seems possible, however, that in a form where the suffix followed a non-vocalized root element the nasal was retained, i.e. that *klaim\** is a regular form and that *klai* is a secondary "normalized" form. For the form *klaiñ* I have no explanation. Finally, before turning to a full CT reconstruction of the paradigm, the discrepancy in the initial A *kū-* vs. B *k-* will have to be explained. As the labial element of a labiovelar in initial position is always lost in both Tocharian languages, except in the position before *-ä-*, in which position, in turn, it is regularly preserved, this discrepancy can only be explained as due to different levellings in a paradigm that included both alternants. That is to say, there must have been a CT paradigm with *\*kwäl-* and *\*k'ł-* alternating, the former thereupon generalized in East, the latter in West Tocharian. Now, at last, we have all the necessary prerequisites for reconstructing a CT (class VI,2) paradigm. The nom.sg. was *\*kwāliya*, but this form must have co-existed with and gradually replaced an original *\*kwālo*. The obl.sg. was *\*k'łāi* or probably rather *\*k'łāinā(m)* (cf. above) from earlier *\*k'łā'nām* < *\*k'łānām*. The nom.pl. and obl.pl. must

have been *\*k'łāinā* and *\*k'łāinān*, ultimately from *\*k'łāñā* and *\*k'łānān*, respectively. The demonstration that B *kliye* is secondary to *kliye* invalidates some of the etymological proposals that have been put forth concerning these Tocharian words. With modifications, K.T. Schmidt's suggestion (1980: 410) that they somehow reflect the IE word for woman, *\*gʷenH₂* with dissimilation of *-n-* to *-l-* vis-à-vis the suffixal nasal, might be upheld though, cf. also the discussion in Kortlandt 1988: 77sq. Thus an IE *\*gʷenH₂-ōn* (cf. OIcel. *kona* 'woman') would – after the dissimilation – yield CT *\*kwālo*, replaced by *\*kwāliya* that is directly reflected in A *kūli*, whereas B *kliye* has generalized the *k-* < CT *\*k'ł-* of the oblique cases (regular would be B *\*kūliye*). An oblique stem with zero grade of the suffix is the basis of the other forms of the Tocharian paradigm. That is, an (as if) IE *\*gʷenH₂-n-ŋi* produced CT *\*k'łnānā(m)* → *\*k'łānā(m)* that yielded the attested Tocharian forms as described above. This etymology is, of course, optimal from a semantic point of view, and formally as well, if one is prepared to accept the dissimilation. A different solution that perhaps merits consideration is to interpret 'woman' as 'servant' and posit an IE *\*k'łH₂-ōn*. The development would be identical, but no dissimilation is needed. See also A *kūleñci* 'female' (B *klaiññe*).

B *klyomo* (adj.), A *klyom* (adj.) 'noble' are adjectives of class II,5 (B obl. *klyomom*, *klyommom*, voc. *klyomai*, nom.pl. *klyomom*, fem. nom.sg. *klyomña*, nom.pl. *klyomñāna*; A obl.sg. *klyomant*, nom.pl. *klyomās*, fem. nom.sg. *klyomiñ*, nom.pl. *klyomināñ*). Couvreur (1947a: 16) correctly saw in this word a cognate of OHG *hliumunt* 'renown' and Skt. *śrómata-* 'fame' (to IE *\*kleu-* 'hear'), but Van Windekens' assertion (1976: 223) that these words are exact equivalents of the Tocharian forms is incorrect: the latter are athematic, while the Germanic and Indic forms are derivatives in *\*-to-* to a neuter *men*-stem (cf. discussion of this in Hilmarsson 1986a: 266 [= 1987[89]b: 58]). B *klyomo* and A *klyom* reflect CT *\*klyomo* < *\*klyumo* (through *o*-umlaut) < IE *\*kleumōn*. The suffixal vocalism in the Tocharian oblique cases is analogical to that of the nominative singular masc., while forms in *-mont-* beside *-mon-* are due to a secondary contamination of *nt-* and *n-* stems. The feminine A *klyomiñ* reflects *\*klyomāññā* < CT *\*klyomñyā*, equalling B *klyomña* as shown by Winter 1977: 150. From these adj. are derived the (presumably neuter class III) abstracts B *klyomñe* 'nobility' and A *klyomune* 'id.'. The once attested A *klyaum* (100 b5) is probably only secondarily diph-

thongized for *klyom*. See also B *klyaus*- 'to hear' (A *klyos*-), B *-kälywe* (A *-klyu*), B *klautso* 'ear' (A *klots*), B *klāw*- 'to be called' (A *klāw*-), B *klāwi* 'renown'.

A *klyomśo* (*hapax*) 'dignity(?)' is an entirely uncertain word of doubtful existence. It is listed and glossed so in Thomas & Krause (1964: 100; cf. also Van Windekens 1976: 224). The text 6 a1 reads *mā nu yutkos klyom śo ŋi* that Sieg (1944: 9) translates: "[D]ie Edle kümmert sich auch nicht um mein Verhalten(?)", and comments (*l.c.*, n.3 and 4) that *klyom* here stands for the fem. *klyomiṃ* 'noble', while *śo* might possibly be an error for *śol*. It appears inevitable to relegate *klyomśo* to the twilight zone of ghostwords.

B *klyoto*\* (prob. f.) 'Tribulus lanuginosus, Tribulus terrestris, Linn., (Skt.) trikaṭu-' is a *hapax* in a list of medical ingredients 501 Y 5 III *ti · gandhakāri klyotañ eṣpe(eṣṣe)* 'Solanium xanthocarpum, Tribulus lanuginosus, Boerhavia diffusa', see Maue 1990: 163. Although attested only in the nom.pl., the nom.sg. form *klyoto*\*, as well as membership in noun class VI,2, is assured by the existence of the adj. *klyotaiṣṣe*\* 'pertaining to Tribulus lanuginosus', attested in Y 1 a5 and P 1 a5. Note also the proper name *klyotiśka* (with diminutive suffix) of 490 MQ a I 2. For CT one might reconstruct *\*klyoto* < *\*klyuto* (through *o*-umlaut) from IE *\*KleuTōn*. Etymology uncertain.

A *-klyum*, see B *-kälywe* (A *-klyu*).

A *knā*- 'to know' (pres. VI [2sg.] *knānat*, [ptc.] *knānmām*). An abstract *knānmune* 'knowledge' (class III,2 with pl. *knānmuneyntu*), with a derived endocentric adj. *knānmuneṣi* 'pertaining to knowledge', is formed to an unattested verbal adjective *\*knānam* 'knowing' < *\*knānāmo*. Already Pischel 1908: 933 proposed to associate this verb with Gk. *γινώσκω* 'I recognize' to the IE root *\*ǵneH<sub>3</sub>*- 'to know'. The pres. stem A *\*knānā*- is more or less equivalent to the stem of Ved. *jānāti* 'knows, recognizes', and has – like the Vedic form – reshaped an original IE *\*ǵn-n-(e)H<sub>3</sub>*-, but in a different manner. While Ved. *jānāti* for expected *\*janāti* reflects as if *\*ǵnH<sub>3</sub>-n-eH<sub>3</sub>*-, Toch. A *knānā*- reflects an IE *\*ǵn-n-H<sub>3</sub>*- > CT *\*kā(n)nā*- plus a reintroduced present suffix *-nā*-, yielding the stem *\*kānānā*- > A *knānā*-. A different, but equally possible alternative, is to assume that the Tocharian form is quite parallel to the Vedic one in formation, i.e. that an IE *\*ǵn-n-(e)H<sub>3</sub>*- was reshaped to *\*ǵnH<sub>3</sub>-n-(e)H<sub>2</sub>*- that yielded CT *\*knā-nā*- > A *knānā*-

regularly. My assumption (1991b: 97) that *C<sub>9</sub>H<sub>7</sub>C* ought to have yielded Toch. *CānC* (on the basis of A *kām̐ts*- 'to admit, recognize', *q.v.*) is wrong. An expected subjunctive stem to the present A *knānā*- would have been *\*knā*- (possibly through anaptyxis *\*kānā*-). It is conceivable that the adjectives B *aknātsa* 'ignorant', A *āknats* 'id.', are based on such a subjunctive stem (cf. Hilmarsson 1991b: 97-98). See also A *kñas*- 'to recognize', A *kām̐ts*- 'to admit, recognize', B *aknātsa* 'ignorant, unknowing' (A *āknats*), A *kñā*- 'to acknowledge, recognize(?)', B *nān*- 'to appear, be shown', B *nāne* 'pretense'.

A *knāsw*- '±to come close to, approach, press up to' (pres. I or II [ptc. med.] *knāswmām*) is attested twice in the same kind of construction, viz. 23 b1 *ptāñāktac kātse knāswmām* 'pressing near to the Buddha', 153 a6 *nandenac knāswmām kātse yeṣ* 'he came, pressing close to Nandena'. The meaning as given here is only approximate, and any etymology is bound to be speculative. The radical *knāsw*- must reflect CT *\*knāsw*- (the sequence *-nā*- is permissible in a closed syllable), for *\*kānsw*- would have yielded A *\*kīsw*-. In turn, CT *\*knāsw*- can only reflect an IE root form with *u*-vocalism, as an *-i*- would have caused palatalization, and a zero grade *\*-ǵ*- would have produced the sequence *\*-ān-s-* that would have ended in A *\*-i-s-*. As an IE preform one must therefore posit *\*Knus-ǵēb*- (if this verbal stem was thematic). A possible candidate might then be the IE root *\*gneus*- 'to press hard', cf. OIcel. *knosa* 'to embrace' and other Germanic cognates, most of which have the meaning 'to press violently, beat down'. Clearly, everything is somewhat uncertain here.

B *knents* is a *hapax* that appears to be a gen.pl. to a putative *\*kane*. Meaning and etymology are unknown. The posited form may be wrong. The text runs: 326 S a1 III (*po*)*staññe knentsaimā* [lege *knents saim mā* (?)] *tākaṃ-ne*.

B *knerwanta* '?', a *hapax* of Lévi K 8 b5 *knerwanta attsenta* (reading confirmed by Sieg 1938: 39), is a completely unclear form. Possibly, *k-* belongs to a preceding word, in which case *nerwanta* might somehow be connected with *nervām* 'nirvāṇa'? Unclear.

A *kñā*- 'to acknowledge, recognize(?)' (subj. XII [3sg. med.] *kñāñtār*, pret. V [3pl.] *kñāññānt*, [ptc.] *kākkñāññu*). Arguments for assigning the meaning above to this verb are given in Hilmarsson 1991b: 96sq.; the handbooks do not venture a translation.

Should this be a correct rendering, a connection with A *knā*- 'to know', *kñas*- 'to recognize', etc., is extremely likely. In my work cited (p. 101) I have suggested that the subj. stem *kñāññā/a*- is formed in the same manner as A *ākṣiññā/a*- 'to proclaim'; that is, as an element *-ññā/a*- has been added to the pre-existing subjunctive stem *\*ākṣā*-, so it has been added to a subj. stem. *\*kñā*-. The lack of a palatal epenthesis in *kñāññā/a*- as against *ākṣiññā/a*- might be seen as due to the presence of three palatal *-ñ*-s that caused its dissimilatory loss. As for the stem *\*kñā*- instead of expected *\*knā*-, one might assume influence of the verbal stem A *kñas*- 'to recognize'. See also A *knā*- 'to know', A *kñas*- 'to recognize', A *kām̐ts*- 'to admit, recognize', B *aknātsa* 'ignorant, unknowing' (A *āknats*), B *nān*- 'to appear, be shown', B *nāne* 'pretense'.

A *kñas*- 'to recognize' (pret. III [1sg.] *kñasu*, [2sg.] *kñasäšt*\*) is discussed under A *kām̐ts*-, q.v.

A *kñās*, *kñāṣi*, see A *kñā*\* '?'.

A *kñom* (gender unknown; *hapax*) 'expanded hood or neck of a serpent'. As argued in Hilmarsson 1984b: 287-290 (= 1986a: 94-97), this word reflects a *men*-stem formation of the type A *klyom*, B *klyomo* 'noble'. That is, A *kñom* is from CT *\*kñomo* < *\*kñūmo* (-*u*- > -*o*- through *o*-umlaut, not through the effect of the following -*m*- as maintained in my work cited) from IE *\*kneu-mōn* to the IE root *\*kneu*- 'to blow, inflate, stink', cf. Skt. *knūyate* 'sounds, stinks', parallel to IE *\*pneu*- 'id.', cf. Gk. *πνεῦμα* 'breath, breeze, odour'.

A *kñuk* (gender unknown) 'neck' is attested in the all.sg. *kñukac*, abl.sg. *kñukāṣ*, and loc.sg. *kñukaṃ*. These forms presumably indicate a thematic paradigm of class V,1. A *kñuk* could thus reflect an earlier A *\*kñuka* from CT *\*kñukwæ*, or it might reflect earlier A *\*kñākw* from CT *\*kñākwæ*, cf. the development seen in A *yuk* 'horse' < *\*yākw* < CT *\*yākwæ*. CT *\*kñukwæ* could reflect IE *\*gneugo*-, cf. OIcel. *knjúkr* 'round mountain summit', MHG *knock* 'neck' (Van Windekens 1941: 42), or IE *\*kneugo*-, cf. OIcel. *hnjúkr* 'rounded mountain summit' (Duchesne-Guillemin 1941: 157). Neither proposal is in my opinion semantically satisfactory. Furthermore, while Pedersen's association (1944: 29) with OE *hnekka* 'neck', OIcel. *hnakki* 'id.' is more likely semantically, there is no evidence in Germanic for a *\*-kw*- (note the lack of umlaut in OIcel. *hnakki* as against *røkk* 'darkness' < *\*rekwiz*,

*søkkva* 'to sink' < *\*sankwian*). This proposal might therefore be rejected as well. Instead, the following might be considered. Assuming A *kñuk*, through *\*kñākw*, reflects CT *\*kñākwæ*, this word may go back to IE *\*knig<sup>h</sup>ho*- 'neck (lit. 'the one that bows or bends'))' to the root *\*kneig<sup>h</sup>*- 'to bow', cf. Goth. *hneiwan* 'to bow', OHG *hnigan* 'to bow, bend', OIcel. *hníga* 'to sink down', *hneigja* 'to bow', etc.

B *ko* '?' is a *hapax* of 381 Š b1 *///ñ[āk]t[e] ko yṭāri yaṃ ///*. Its meaning is quite unclear. Possibly it is a misspelling of the emphatic particle *ka* (q.v.); or *\*kā* y- became *ko* y- according to the West Tocharian (or even CT) rule that *ā* becomes *o* before y?

B *kok*\* (f.) '?' is a *hapax* of P 2 a1 *tommeṃ no pokkāka ṣotarnma tā kokne se saṃnipātik kāršanalle* 'and from that announce the signs on the *kok*; this is known [as the] *saṃnipātika*'. Possibly, *kok*\* is some bodypart, or it might be identical with A *kok* (a species of bird) from Skt. *koka*-. In any case, presumably a loanword.

B *kokale* (m.), A *kukäl* (m.) 'wagon, chariot' are nouns of class V,1 with B pl. *kokalyi*, obl. *kokleṃ*, A pl. *kuklañ\**, obl. *kuklas*, implying an original thematic flexion. The palatal -*ly*- of B *kokalyi* is unexplained: the final -*i* from IE *\*-oi* ought not to have caused palatalization (for further examples of this, see Krause & Thomas 1960: 130). Possibly, words in final -*le* and -*tte* came under the analogical influence of adjectives ending in -*le* and -*tte* and reshaped their nom.pl. forms: -*lyi* and -*cci*, cf. B *kertte* 'sword', pl. *kercci*. In West Tocharian many verse forms show regular syncope of the internal -*a*- (< *\*-ā*-), but retention of the -*a*- is also frequent (e.g. gen.sg. *koklentselkokalentse* in the same verse text). An endocentric derivative adj. is found in B *kokaleṣṣe* (*hapax*) 'pertaining to a wagon', and an exocentric one in B *kokaleṭstse* 'having a wagon'. A diminutive B *kokalyiske\** (only obl.pl. *kokalyiṣkaṃ*) is formed to the plural B *kokalyi*. - While there is little doubt that B *kokale*, A *kukäl*, represent IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>lo*- (earlier *\*k<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>lHo*- with loss of laryngeal in a reduplicated formation), cf. Skt. *cakrá*- 'wheel, circle', Gk. *κύκλος* 'id.', the precise phonological history of the Tocharian forms remains to some extent obscure. It seems reasonable, though, to assume that the *\*-e*- of the reduplicating syllable, at some stage in early Tocharian, has been defronted, being surrounded by labials (a similar change has taken place in Greek independently), so that one might posit an (as if) early CT *\*kwāk<sup>h</sup>lo*- > CT *\*kwāk<sup>h</sup>læ*. From that form one gets A *\*kwākla* > *\*kwākäl* [> *\*kwkäl*] > *kukäl*

regularly. In West Tocharian, an *-ä-* is often coloured to *-o-* in labial surroundings, cf. the imperative B *pokkāka* beside A *pākāks-* 'call!'. It seems that CT *\*kwāk-lä* yielded B *\*kwäkle* > *\*kwäkāle* > *\*kwokāle* > *kokale*. See also B *kele* 'navel', B *kokalpānta* 'charioteer', *kokalyiškaṃ* 'small wagons'.

- B *kokalpānta* (gender unknown, but presumably m.) 'charioteer' is a compound of *kokale* 'wagon' and *-pānta* 'driver' (lit. 'path-finder'). The first part, *kokal-*, reflects earlier *\*kokälä-*, with *-ä-* replacing the thematic vowel (B *-e-*) as sometimes seen in compounds and in combinations with diverse suffixes (cf. B *kwipe* 'shame' but *kwipassu* 'shameful'). The second part, *-pānta*, is a verbal noun in *-ā* of adj. class II,3 (obl.sg. *-pāntai*) to an otherwise unattested verb *\*pānt-*. For *kokal-*, see also B *kele* 'navel', B *kokale* 'wagon' (A *kukāl*), B *kokalyiškaṃ* 'small wagons'. See also *-pānta*.
- B *kokalyiškaṃ* (m. obl.pl. [hapax]) 'small wagons' implies nom.sg. *kokalyiške\**, formed to the plural *kokalyi* of B *kokale* 'wagon' (q.v.). See also B *kele* 'navel', B *kokalpānta* 'charioteer'.
- B *kolmo\** (gender unknown, prob. f.), A *kolām* (f., only sg.) 'ship, boat' is a noun of class VI,2 in B (obl.sg. *kolmai*, obl.pl. *kolmaim*) but unclear in A (loc.sg. *kolmaṃ*). These words derive from CT nom.sg. *\*kolmo* < *\*kälmo* (through *o*-umlaut), reflecting IE *\*kolmōn* to the root *\*(s)kel-* 'to cut', cf. OHG *scalm* 'ship'. Etymology originally Van Windekens 1961: 383. Possibly, IE *\*kolmōn* could reflect an earlier *\*kolH<sub>3</sub>mōn* (with loss of laryngeal in this *o*-grade formation) with which one might then also compare Slav. *\*čilnŭ* 'boat' < *\*k<sub>1</sub>H<sub>3</sub>no-* < *\*k<sub>1</sub>H<sub>3</sub>mno-*, etc., cf. Blažek 1991b. In that case the IE root would be *\*kelH<sub>3</sub>-* 'to protrude, lift'.
- B *kolyi* (f.), A *kolye\** (gender unknown) '(hind-)leg (of an animal), paw' has been interpreted in various ways. B *kolyi* is attested twice, but neither context allows an exact translation: M 1 b4 *yäkweñña kolyi* 'a horse's k.', M 3 b1 *ṣat kolyi* 'a piece of k.'. A *kolye\** is a hapax, but has served as a basis for the translations that have been offered: 12 b4 *kākropu puk ś(twar pe)yu lyäṣknaṃ ywārškāsi cacp<sub>1</sub>ku* : *kliso pāccās poṣṣāsā to lap śālyim kolyeyac* : '(the lion,) having gathered all f(our fe)et [and] tucked [them] between [its] flanks(±), lying on [its] right side, putting [its] head towards the left to the k.' or '... towards the left k.'. To some extent the rendering of A *kolye* depends on the interpretation of

*śālyim*. The translation 'tail', *vel sim.* (Sieg 1944: 16 ["Schweif"], Lane 1947: 48 ["tail"], Thomas & Krause 1964: 97 ["Schwanzhaar"], Hilmarsson 1986a: 194 (= 1989a: 125) ["tail"]), is possible only if *śālyim* is here used adverbially 'toward the left' and not as an adjective qualifying *kolyeyac*, as there would not be any left or right tail. However, it turns out that *śālyim* in its two other occurrences is an adjective and not an adverb (the form *śālyās* is adverbial). It seems therefore very likely that Adams (1987: 2) is right in understanding *śālyim kolyeyac* as 'toward the left k.'. Adams then suggests the meaning 'clawed paw, hoof', as might well fit the West Tocharian examples also. However, Adams' etymological proposal that these Tocharian words reflect an IE *\*golu-Een-* and are cognate with Gmc. *\*klawō*, *\*klēwō* 'claw' (OE *clawu*, OHG *klāwo*), is to my mind very difficult phonologically; also the *Schwebeablaut* implied makes for an unwelcome complication. One might therefore prefer the recent suggestion of Poetto (1991b: 157sq.) that *kolyi* and *kolye* are cognates of OCS *golēnī* 'leg, (Gk.) σκέλος, κνήμη' (with correspondences in most Slavic languages). While OCS *golēnī* might reflect *\*gol-ēn-*, it could also reflect *\*gol-oi-n-*. The latter form might actually fit the Tocharian words better. The correspondence B *-e*, A *-i* is quite unique in Tocharian. Previously, I have tried to obviate that problem (Hilmarsson l.c.) by assuming that B *kolyi* in reality is an obl.sg. form functioning as a nominative that should have had the form *\*kolyiye*. That would make these words regular nouns of the feminine *n*-stem class VI,1. However, the Slavic connection offers an opportunity to see B *kolyi* and A *kolye* as a more or less regular correspondence. OCS *golēnī* can be interpreted as an *n*-stem extension of an IE hysterodynamic *\*gol-oi-*. The nom.sg. of such a stem could be posited as *\*gol-ō(i)*. That form would in Tocharian yield *\*kælu* > *\*kolu* > *\*kolä* (cf. *\*(H)oktiō* 'eight' > *\*æktu* > *\*oktu* > *\*oktä*). A weak stem *\*gol-ī/i-* would yield CT *\*kælyy-/i\*kælyä-*, but one might assume that the umlaut of the nominative was generalized in the entire paradigm, producing *\*kolyy-/i\*kolyä-*. As in Slavic, but presumably independently, this originally hysterodynamic stem was extended with an *n*-suffix. The weak stem (*\*kælyä-* →) *\*kolyä-* then became *\*kolyä-n-*. That form thereupon resulted in B *kolyi* and A *kolye*, cf. the parallel development seen in the obl.sg. of class VI,1 *n*-stems: B *kalymi*, A *kälyme*. The phonological details of this development escape me, but the obl.sg. just mentioned seems to demand it. Note also the thematic nom.pl. B *-i*, A *-e*; it is usually seen as reflecting IE *\*-oi*, and yet one might not expect the diphthong simply to

monophthongize in East Tocharian, but rather to be lost. This ending might therefore reflect something else, possibly *\*-ān-* or *\*-āyn-*. Furthermore, the neuter correspondence, seen e.g. in B *leki*, A *lake* 'lay', could also somehow reflect earlier *\*-ān-*. To sum up, B *kolyi*, A *kolye* reflect an original hysterodynamic *i*-stem that has in Tocharian been provided with an *n*-stem extension. The *o*-vocalism has been generalized from the old nom.sg., but palatalization was caused by the *-i-*. The meaning can be posited as '(hind-)leg (of an animal), paw', cf. OCS *golēnī* 'leg'.

B *kompō\** (m.) '?' is a hapax of 588 MQ a1 (*winamā*)ññi pyapyaicci wawakā[s] po kom[p]aino ayato eśnaisāñ '(the pleasur)able, beflowered, completely bloomed k., fitting for [your] eyes'. From the context it is clear that *kompō\** must designate a plant or a tree of some sort. Presumably the *-p-* precludes any connection with B *kaume*, A *kom* 'shoot, sprout'. Anyway, it seems likely that *kompō\** is a loanword. The form *kompaino* has a "mobile" *-o-*, and thus stands for *kompain*. An obl.pl. form in *-ain* occurs quite often for an expected nom.pl. form in *-aiñ*.

B *komt* 'daily', B *komtak*, *kaumtak* 'today', see B *kaum* 'sun; day' (A *kom*).

A *komswam* is the loc.sg. of a designation of a metre (4×12 syllables). Unclear. See also A *kuswam* (name of a metre, 4×12 syllables).

B *kontac* (gender unknown) '?' is a hapax of 477 MQ a2 /// jñānakāmi kontac oko [ys]āre kā[l]wā[wa] 'for Jñānakām I obtained k., fruit, [and] grain'. While *kontac* obviously denotes some kind of food, it is quite unclear which. Formally, *kontac* appears to be an obl.sg., and might be a noun of class V,2 (*kontāce\**). Any etymological explanation is futile.

B *kontso\** (gender unknown) '?' is a hapax of 325 M a1 *klyiye šamānentse asām nātkam āmapi kontsaisa wat*. As *āmapi* and *kontsaisa* are both hapax legomena of unknown meaning, no secure translation of this passage is possible. My suggestion (Hilmarsson 1989b: 133sq.) is worthless.

A *-koñi\** (adj.) '-day, pertaining to days' is an adj. of class I, found only once in the compound (m. obl.pl.) *šāpta-koñim* 'of seven days'. It is formed to A *kom* 'day; sun' and reflects CT *\*kauñiyāe*. See also B *kaum* 'sun; day' (A *kom*).

A *koprānk* '?' is a hapax of 303 b6 : *kusne nišpal koprānk [pā]rsānt wās nkiñc hār wrok ñe* 'which(ever) possession, *koprānk*, ornament, gold, silver, necklace, pearl ...'. Any precise interpretation of *koprānk* here is clearly impossible. It may be a free-standing word, or it may be the first member of a compound. No etymology can be ventured.

B *kor* (gender unknown) 'throat' is presumably formed in the same manner as B *šñor* 'sinew', *kror-* (in *krorīyai* [obl.sg.] 'horn (of the moon)'), etc., and is therefore a neuter of class I,1. As B *šñor*, *kror-*, *ñor* 'below', *plor-* (in *ploryai* 'a musical instrument', *pyor-* (in *pyorye* 'yoke'), are all derived from forms in IE *\*-ur-* (possibly, but perhaps not necessarily, metathesized to *\*-ru-*), viz. *\*sneH<sub>1</sub>ur-*, *\*ghreH<sub>1</sub>ur-*, *\*neH<sub>1</sub>ur-*, *\*bhleH<sub>1</sub>ur-*, *\*pH<sub>1</sub>iēH<sub>1</sub>ur-*, resp., it seems most probable that B *kor* reflects a parallel formation. One might therefore reconstruct a CT *\*kāwār* < IE *\*ǵheH<sub>2</sub>-ur-* to the IE root *\*ǵheH<sub>2</sub>-* 'to open wide; opening, open space', as suggested by Winter 1982a: 182; or possibly *\*ǵheH<sub>2</sub>u-* to the alternant root form *\*ǵheH<sub>2</sub>u-*. Since B *kor* fits so perfectly into the pattern described above, it would seem less likely that it derives from a CT *\*k<sup>u</sup>æru* < IE *\*g<sup>u</sup>or-u-*, a neuter *u*-stem to the IE root *\*g<sup>u</sup>er-* 'to swallow', as suggested by Krause 1950: 203, Van Windekens 1951: 110, 1976: 230. See also B *<sup>2</sup>kāre* 'pit, hole' (A *kār\**), B *korše\** '?', B *kaumiye* 'lake'.

B *koro\** (or *koriye\**) '?' is a noun, presumably fem., of class VI,2 (obl.sg. *korai*, obl.pl. *koraim*). It is attested twice, but neither context gives any clear indication as to its meaning: 577 M b2 /// *ne šameñ tu postām ka koraim* /// 'they sit on (X)', but after that the *k.*, LP 16 a4 *šāmna korai parra yanem* 'the men go through the k(?)'. No etymology is possible.

A *corpā* (adv.) 'against, toward' is the perative, petrified as an adverb (and postposition), to a noun *corp\** 'turn, turning' < *\*korpa* < *\*karpa* < CT *\*k<sup>u</sup>ærpæ*, a regularly formed abstract to the verb BA *kārp-* 'to descend', cf. A *kotāk\** < *\*kotka* < CT *\*kautkæ* 'embodiment' to BA *kutk-* 'to embody', etc. A *corp-* from *\*karp-* by rounding through the *-p-*. To the IE root *\*k<sup>u</sup>erp-* 'to turn', cf. Oícel. *hvarf* 'turn'. See also B *kārp-* 'to descend' (A *kārp-*), A *kārme* 'right; upright', B *kwārp-* 'to attend to'.

B *korso\** '?' appears to be a noun, presumably fem., of class VI,2. It is possibly attested in the nom.sg. in 208 MQR (b1-)b2 (*ko*)rso [ba]nto (for *pānto*) *pārmanko* 'k., support [and] hope'. In this

enumeration (*ko*)*rso* could stand for 'cover, (Germ.) Schutz', *vel sim.*, which might fit the second occurrence of this word, namely in 212 MQ a1 *wantau āṣṣa cāro-korṣai* 'having wound around (lit. 'on') the head a *cāro*-cover(?)'. Any etymological interpretation seems premature, however.

- B *korṣe*\* '?' is cited by Broomhead (1962b: 98) as being found in PK 15 E a5 *korṣe=enkū* and in PK NS 229 a3 *mā teki korṣai*. I have not had opportunity to inspect these forms. Broomhead suggests the meaning 'pertaining to the throat', cf. B *kor* 'throat'.
- B *kos* (interrog. adv. & correl. conj.) 'how much, how far; as much as, as far as', A *kos* (interrog. adv.) 'how much, how far'. In East Tocharian an extended *kosne* 'as much as, as far as' functions as a correlative conjunction; note also A *kosprem* (interrog. adv.) 'how much, how far', and extended *kospremne* (correl. conj.) 'as much as, as far as' [for the second elements of these forms, see A *-ne* and A *-prem*, resp.]. B *kossa*, found twice in the Berlin texts, has been extended with the perlocative marker, while B *kosauk* reflects *kos* extended with the emphatic particle *auk*, as seen also in B *mā<sub>u</sub>k*, i.e. *mā auk* 'indeed not', cf. A *mā ok* 'not yet' [for this particle, see A *ok*]. In Filliozat's edition (1948) of the Weber texts there are a few instances where he reads *kot* instead of *kos*. While such a form might come into being secondarily on the analogy of the relative *tot* 'so much' (so Adams, unpubl.), it is possible that *kot* is simply an incorrect reading; at least, Broomhead (1962a), in his textual edition of the London texts, where he also includes the Weber texts, reads *kos* for all the instances of Filliozat's *kot*. Note also Sieg's reading (1955: 75) of W 23 a3 *kos ... tot*. A definitive decision in this matter awaits a reliable edition of the Weber texts. The formation of B and A *kos* is disputed, cf. Van Windekens 1976: 230sq. with lit. In my opinion, an original monosyllabic form is impossible, and an *o*-vocalism in both Tocharian languages definitely implies conditioned development, i.e. umlaut. As a final IE *\*-s* would not survive in Tocharian, and we need an umlauting factor following the Tocharian *-s*, I still think the best solution is to posit a final *\*syō* 'so' that has been added to one stem or another to give BA *kos*, cf. Hilmarsson 1987: 41. Such a *\*syō* is found in other Indo-European languages in words with the same function as BA *kos*, e.g., Gk. *πῶς* 'how much' from *πο-* (< IE *\*k<sup>o</sup>-*) plus *ως* (< IE *\*syō-s*), or OIcel. *hversu* 'how much' from the stem of *hverr* 'who' (cf. Goth. *hvarjis*) plus *-su* 'so' < IE *\*syō*. An IE *\*syō* would, at least in enclitic position, result in CT *\*-swu* > *\*-su* > *\*-sä*, cf. B *okt*, A *okāt* 'eight' < IE *\*(H)oktō*. The first

part of BA *kos* evidently contains some form of the interrogative stem. In my work cited, I proposed simply the stem form *\*k<sup>o</sup>-*, i.e. an (as if) IE *\*k<sup>o</sup>-syō(s)* resulted in CT *\*k<sup>o</sup>aswu* > *\*k<sup>o</sup>asū* > *\*k<sup>o</sup>osu* > *\*k<sup>o</sup>osä* > BA *kos*. However, one might also (continuing an idea of Adams, unpubl.) posit an IE *\*k<sup>o</sup>oti* 'how much' (cf. Skt. *kāti* 'how many', Lat. *quot* 'how much') with an alternant (allegro?) form *\*k<sup>o</sup>ot* (cf. Hitt. *kuyatta* 'how much'). Such a *\*k<sup>o</sup>ot*, conflated with *\*syō(s)* after the loss of final *\*-t*, would result in BA *kos* as described above. See also B *kā* 'why', B *katu* 'for, namely', B *kātsi* 'why then', B *ksa* 'some(body)', B *k<sub>u</sub>se* 'who' (A *kus*), B *k<sub>u</sub>tameṃ* 'from where', A *k<sub>u</sub>yal* 'why', B *kwri* 'if' (A *kupre*) [B *mäksu* 'who' ].

- B *kosauk*, see B *kos* 'how much' (A *kos*).
- B *kosi* (obl.sg.; pl. fem.) 'cough' inflects as a feminine noun of class VI,1. Attested are the obl.sg. *kosi*, gen.sg. *kosintse*, and the obl.pl. *kosim\** in H 149. 323 b3 III *sālpamāna kosintsa III* 'burning (lit. 'glowing') coughs', and in PK 9° D b2 *kosintsa* (according to Broomhead 1962b: 99, who is unsure of the meaning, however: "a fever(?), a disease(?)"). The translation 'cough' (cf. 497 Š a6 *kosi* · y[ā]k[t]ānma · -leñene · p[w]ā(rṣṣepi) läkrentse sāmte 'in cough, feebleness [and] X, [it is] the remedy for feverous suffering') is that of Adams (unpubl.), who proposes an etymological connection with Skt. *kās-* f. 'cough', Lith. *kósiu* 'I cough', OIcel. *hósti* 'cough', etc., to an IE root *\*k<sup>e</sup>H<sub>2</sub>s-* 'to cough'. This interpretation is surely likely to be correct. However, in a noun of class VI,1, one would have expected a palatalization of the *-s-* to *-ṣ-*, cf. B *yṣiye*, obl.sg. *yāsi*, A *wṣe* 'night'. The lack of palatalization in B *kosi*, if this oblique form indicates a nom.sg. *kosiye\**, might then – with Adams – be seen as presupposing an underlying *u*-stem that has been extended by an *n*-suffix. That is, IE *\*k<sup>e</sup>H<sub>2</sub>s-u-* (cf. Lith. *kosulys* 'cough') yielded CT *\*k<sup>o</sup>āsu-* > *\*k<sup>o</sup>āsä-* → *\*k<sup>o</sup>āsä-n-* and this form, having been accommodated in the fem. class VI,1 flexion, yielded B *kosiye\**, obl.sg. *kosi*, obl.pl. *kosim\**, regularly (note the change of CT *\*ā* to B *o*).
- B *koša* '?' is a hapax of 117 MQR a6 *koša lykāške pālsko waikṣṣe 1 ṣe III*. Meaning and etymology unclear.
- A *košt* (m. sg.) 'cut, edge' is a hapax of 439 a3 *kāršnāl kṣurṣi košt* 'the cutting razor's edge'. This is a regularly formed agent noun to the verb A *košt-* 'to cut down' of the type B *klenke* 'vehicle' to

*klānk-* 'to ride', *plewe* 'boat, float' to *plu-* 'to float'. A *košt* reflects CT \**kāustæ*. See also A *košt-* 'to cut down, strike'.

A *košt-* 'to cut down, strike, beat' (subj. V [1sg.] *koštam*, [abstr.] *koštlüne\**, pret. I [3sg.] *košt*, [3pl.] *koštar*, [ptc.] *kākoštu*). For CT one might reconstruct a subj. V \**kāustā-*. This verb is obviously cognate with B *kau-*, A *ko-* 'to slay, strike down', and B *kaut-*, A *kot-* 'to split, crack', but its formation is unclear. It is possible that Van Windekens 1976: 231 is right that *košt-* is formed on the model of *kārst-* 'to cut off, slice; destroy', whose meaning is similar enough. It is also possible that *košt-* reflects an independent denominative formation based on a preform of B *kaut-*, A *kot-*; i.e. a participial or adjectival (as if) \**kāud+t-* would yield CT \**kāust-* (subj. V \**kāustā-*). A *košt* 'cut, edge' (q.v.) is a regularly formed abstract to the verb *košt-*. See also B *kau-* 'to kill, slay' (A *ko-*), B *kašenta* 'killer', B *kaut-* 'to split, crack' (A *kot-*), B *kautātsse\** 'having a crack', B *koto\** 'crevice, pit'.

A *kotkum\** (adj. [hapax]) 'having a body, embodied' is found only in the form *kotkumim*, the fem.sg. to a possessive adj. in *-um* (class II,5), derived from an unattested subst. A \**kotāk* that in turn would be deverbative to A *kutk-* 'to embody'. A \**kotāk* < \**kotka* reflects CT \**kæutkæ* from as if IE \**ǵhōud-sk-o-*. See also B *kutk-* 'to embody, incarnate' (A *kutk-*), B *kekseñe* 'body' (A *kaṣaṇi*), B *ku-* 'to pour' (A *ku-*).

B *koto\** (f.) 'pit, hole, crevice' is a noun of class VI,2 (obl.sg. *kotai*, nom.pl. *kotaiñ*), whose etymology is not entirely clear. In all the attested singular cases, *koto\** refers to a pit for excrements, latrine. It could be associated within Tocharian with B *kaut-*, A *kot-* 'to split' (so originally Van Windekens 1941: 44). B *koto\** would then reflect CT \**koto* < \**kuto* deriving from a zero grade (as if) IE \**kH<sub>2</sub>ud-ōn*, while the verb only has normal grade vocalisms (CT \**-æu-*, \**-āu-*) in Tocharian. Alternatively, one might derive *koto\** from IE \**ǵhud-ōn*, cf. OS *gota* 'canalis', Norw. (dial.) *gota* 'ingeschnittene Renne (in der Landschaft)', OIcel. *gota* 'opening between two breakers', *gjóta* 'fissure, hole in the ground' (Hilmarsson 1986a: 228 = 1987[89]a: 44). In either case, the \*-u- of the root would have suffered o-umlaut before the change of IE \*-u- to Toch. -ä-. See also B *kautātsse\** 'having a crack', B *kaut-* 'to split, crack' (A *kot-*), B *kau-* 'to kill, slay' (A *ko-*), B *kašenta* 'killer', A *košt-* 'to cut down, strike', A *košt* 'edge'.

B *kotstse\** '?' is a *hapax* (and may possibly have to be read *kautstse\**) of 89 Š a4 *keṃtsa t(ane ñiś lyakau) k[o]tsts[e]mts [p]arwa tat(w)āñ[k]au mā ketrā[ññe]*. The emendations to this text (Sieg & Siegling 1953: 26 n.9) are uncertain, and a translation is impossible. Judging by *parwa* 'feathers', *kotstse\** could refer to some bird. Etymology unclear.

B *koylle\** '?' is either an adjective or a gerundive. As no meaning is ascertainable, further connections are unclear. It is attested twice. The fragment 301 M b4 /// *koyle wa(t) ///* makes no sense, and although fuller, the text 127 MQR b5 • *koylya māñya yulyaiñña waimen=āñu källātsi* does not yield to an exact interpretation. Thomas (1954: 744) suggests "eine fleißige Dienerin [ist] selten [scil. zu erlangen] [und] Ruhe zu erlangen, [ist] schwierig", but also remarks (n.215 and n.216) that *koylya* and *yulyaiñña* cannot be precisely translated.

B *koyṃ* (n.), A *koyäṣ* ([abl.] sg.) 'mouth' is in B a neuter of class I,2 (pl. *koyṃuwa*), while in A the gender is unknown, although it presumably matches the West Tocharian one; also attested is the loc.sg. A *koyam*. An East Tocharian nom.sg. *ko*, as encountered in the handbooks, probably does not exist. The text in question runs: 63 a4 *puk wrasāñ • panwar walānās šontsaṃ orpañksaṃ wotār ārkyant wätsyās šāwaṃ cañkār swāñceṃ ko* which ends the line, while the following line is broken at the beginning. This can be translated: 'all the people spread out carpets(?) on the roads [and] placed great, white parasols on the tribunes, [and] hindered the sunshine (lit. 'the ray of the sun') ...', i.e. *ko* could be interpreted as the beginning of a gen.sg. *konis* 'of the sun', which would give good sense here, while *ko* 'mouth' would be quite out of place. As this is the only instance of an alleged *ko* 'mouth', it can be safely concluded that such a word does not exist. The abl.sg. *koyäṣ* and the loc.sg. *koyam* indicate a nom./obl.sg. in final -i (for the precise form, see below). B *koyṃ* and A *koyäṣ* are traditionally – and correctly – associated with the IE root \**ǵheH<sub>1</sub>i-* 'to gape, open up' (originally Duchesne-Guillemin 1941: 154), but there have also been attempts to connect it with IE \**ǵheH<sub>2</sub>-* 'open space; to open wide' (Van Windekens 1951: 109, 1976: 227), cf. esp. Winter 1982a: 182 (followed by Hilmarsson 1986a: 13sq.). However, various details have under any explanation been left obscure, partly because the non-existent A *ko* has been taken into account. This can now all be explained. Final B -n matching A -i is not a frequent correspondence, but – beside the forms under discussion here – we find it in B *ikām*, A *wiki* 'twenty' and in the 3pl.



endings B *-em*, A *-e* < *\*-a-i* (thematic, beside *-eñc*), cf. also the athematic B *-ām\** (in class VII forms like *kām̐tam*, MQ for *kām̐tām* 'they spread'), A *-i*. These correspondences, as I have explained previously (Hilmarsson 1989b: 123sq.), reflect CT *\*-Vnt* (< IE *\*-(V)nt*) in the following manner: CT *\*-nt*, through an assimilated stage *\*-nn*, yielded B *-m*, while in East Tocharian palatal epenthesis arose before the geminate: *\*-nn* > *\*.inn* > *\*-in* > *-i*. One might then posit for Tocharian a preform reflecting an old neuter present participle to the verb B *kāy-* 'to open up, gape', i.e. (as if) IE *\*ghH<sub>1</sub>i-nt* or *\*ghoH<sub>1</sub>i-nt*. Both these forms would result in CT *\*kāyānt* > *\*kāyānn*. By the change of *-āy-* to *-oy-* (which is proven to be of CT date by the form of A *se*, B *soy* 'son' [< *\*soyā* < *\*swoyā* < *\*swāyā* < *\*suH<sub>1</sub>iu-*]) that must have lost the *-w-* in the position before an *-o-*, CT *\*kāyānn* yielded *\*koyānn* that produced B *\*koyām* > *koy̐m* regularly, while in East Tocharian, further development was to *\*koyā'nn* > *\*koyinn* > *\*koyin* > *\*koyi*. The abl. *koyāš* and the loc. *koyam* are simply formed to this nom./obl. form. The B plural *koy̐nuwa* is a late formation to the singular *koy̐n*. The retention of *-āy-* in the verb *kāy-* as against *-āy-* > *-oy-* in B *koy̐m*, A *koyi\** 'mouth' (cf. also B *soy-* 'to be satiated') is explained under B *kāy-*. See also B *kāy-* 'to open (the mouth)', B *koy̐ni* 'open wound' [A *šew-* 'to yawn, gape']].

- B *koy̐ni* (m. sg. [hapax]) 'open wound, fracture (?)' is only found in PK NS 53 b5 (Pinault 1988a, esp. 111 and 139sq.). The meaning seems secure. Final *-ni* is scarce in West Tocharian; beside *koy̐ni* there is only *ekañi*, *ekñi* 'possession' and *rāñkāñi* 'building'. B *ek(a)ñi* has the plural *ekñānta*, which would seem to allow the definition of *koy̐ni* as a neuter of class III, 1e. The origins of the suffix are unclear; it is certainly not a borrowing from East Tocharian, where *-ñi* does not form abstracts. It seems likely that Pinault (*l.c.*) is correct in seeing in *koy̐ni* a cognate of B *koy̐m* 'mouth'. It is possible that *koy̐ni* is derived from *koy̐m*, although one would perhaps rather have expected *\*koy̐mñi*. However, as the abstract (> *nomen rei actae*) *rāñkāñi* 'building' is clearly deverbatively formed to B *rāñk-* 'to arise, ascend', one might prefer to derive *koy̐ni* from the verb B *kāy-* 'to open up', whose present and subjunctive stem formations are unfortunately unknown: the attested past ptc. *kakāyau* does not indicate what those stems must have looked like in their original form. Should *koy̐ni* thus derive from *kāy-*, it would presuppose a subj. of class I or II. The *-oy-* < *-āy-* is regular in West Tocharian (and presumably in East

Tocharian as well, and therefore of CT origin). The retention of *-āy-* in the verb *kāy-* as against *-āy-* > *-oy-* in B *soy-* 'to be satiated' is explained under B *kāy-*. See also B *kāy-* 'to open up', B *koy̐m* 'mouth' (A *koyāš* [abl.]) [A *šew-* 'to yawn']].

- B *koy̐sam* '?' is attested in 466 MQ a1 *III(šwā)r(a) tom koy̐sam*, and presumably in 465 MQ a1 *(caka)[n]ma šwāra tom ko(ysam)*. Its meaning is quite unclear, but it could be a personal name. The diminutive *koy̐siške* is a personal name and could be cognate with *koy̐sam*.
- B *krāke* (n.), A *krāke* (gender unknown) 'filth, dirt' (also used of bodily fluids such as semen and menstrual blood) is in West Tocharian a neuter of class III, 1 (pl. *krakenta*), while in East Tocharian the obl. pl. *krākes* indicates class VI, 4. Exocentric adj. B *kraketstse* 'filthy, dirty'. Winter 1962a: 274 (= 1984: 71) suggests A *krāke* is a borrowing from West Tocharian, cf. A *ñātse* 'danger' from B (eastern dialect) *ñātse* 'id.' (standard *ñyātse*). Van Windekens (1976: 627) assumes this Tocharian word represents a borrowing from Khot. *khārgga-* 'mud', but the meaning does not fully coincide and the metathesis is uncomfortable. One might perhaps rather suggest a derivation from (as if) IE *\*grH-ǵ-o-* 'that which is disgusting' (that would produce the Tocharian form regularly if the laryngeal was either *H<sub>2</sub>* or *H<sub>3</sub>*), seeing in B *krāke* a cognate of Irish *gráin* 'disgust', Welsh *graen* 'anxiety, disgust' < *\*grāgni-* < (as if) from an IE *\*grH-ǵ-n-i-*.
- B *krāmār* (gender unknown) 'weight, load' produces the exocentric adj. B *kramartstse\** 'heavy, difficult', matched by A *krāmārts* 'id.' (not found in Poucha 1955, but cited by Couvreur 1955-56: 97 from the Paris text PK NS 1-6). The abstract B *kramartstsaññe\** 'heaviness, difficulty' is derived from the adjective. As already seen by Meillet 1911a: 149, this noun is etymologically related to Skt. *gurū-* 'heavy', *gariman-* 'heaviness'. The suffixal *-mār* of Tocharian (< *\*-m̐r*) is an archaic feature. For IE one may probably reconstruct a proterokinetic paradigm with nom.sg. *\*gr̥reH<sub>2</sub>-m̐r*, gen.sg. *\*gr̥rH<sub>2</sub>-mén-s*. If one accepts that IE *\*ā* (*\*eH<sub>2</sub>*) gave Toch. *ā*, B *krāmār* could directly reflect the IE nom.sg. (with regular loss of the labial element of the labiovelar before a consonant). However, since I operate with a development of IE *\*ā* (*\*eH<sub>2</sub>*) to Toch. *\*ā* > B *o*, A *a*, I do not find this feasible. The oblique case stem *\*gr̥rH<sub>2</sub>-mén-*, however, after generalizing the *-r* of the suffix, would produce a Toch. *\*k'rāmār* > *\*krāmār* > B

*krāmār*, A *krāmār*-, regularly. See also B *kārweñe*\* 'stone, rock' (A *kārwañ*\*).

B *krämp*- 'to be disturbed, hampered; (caus.) 'to hamper, check, restrain' (pres. III [3sg. med.] *krämpetār*, [impf. 3sg. med.] *krämpitār*, subj. V [abstr.] *krämpālñe*, pret. Iaß [2sg.] *krämpā(sta)*, [ptc.] *krämpau*\*, caus. pres. VIII [3sg.] *kramsām*, subj. II (less likely subj. I) [inf.] *kramtsi*, pret. III [3pl.] *krempār* (PK 13 E b8)). While the abstract *krämpālñe* shows suffixal accentuation of the subj. V stem, initial accent seems to be shown by (*kra*)*mpālñe* in 288 S b4 and 329 B b3. Van Windekens (1941: 44) associates B *krämp*- with OE *hremman* 'to hinder, hamper' (cf. also OIcel. *hremma* 'take, seize') to an IE *\*krem-* 'to enclose, hinder', *vel sim*. The lack of a root-final labial occlusive in Germanic makes this comparison less attractive than it might otherwise be. One might rather see a connection in OIcel. *kreppa* 'to contract, tighten, check', *kreppa* 'tight spot, crisis' (note ModIcel. *krepptur* 'bent; restrained, hampered'), OHG *krīm(p)fan* 'to contract, shrink', *krampf* 'bent, contracted; cramp', etc. This Germanic family of words, along with B *krämp*- (from CT *\*krämp-*), would then reflect an IE *\*gremb-/grmb-*, a nasalized extension in *-b-* of the root *\*ger-* 'to turn, wind'.

A *krām* (gender unknown) 'smell' is attested three times and generally translated with '(Germ.) Geruch, Geruchssinn'. Sieg's translation of this word in the passages 12 a1 and b2 with "Nase(?)" (1944: 15) is probably incorrect. Thus, 51 b6 *tmāṣ krām penu sāknāmām* means 'thereupon, following the smell ...' rather than '... the nose ...', and 11 b6-12 a1 *āyāntu śwāl ysār yats krām yokyo* means 'with the bones, flesh, blood, skin, smell [and] colour' rather than '... nose [and] hair'. It seems likely that this word is a borrowing of Skt. *ghrāṇa-* 'smell; nose' rather than an indigenous cognate of the same.

A *krānkāts* '?' is a *hapax* of unknown meaning, mentioned by Sieg & Siegling (1921: 222) in the introduction to texts 399-404.

B *krānko* (gender unknown) 'cock, cockrel' is a noun of class VI,2 (obl.sg. *krānkai\**, obl.pl. *krānkaiñ\**), but presumably of masc. gender like other animal names in *-o* (with a fem. correspondence in *-a*). Possessive adj. B *krānkaiññe* 'of a chicken' is attested twice, but twice the form is *krānkaiññe*. If *-aññe* is not simply a mistake for *-aiññe*, one might wonder whether it could not be formed to a fem. *\*krānka* < *\*krānkā*; however, one might then have expected

*-aññe*. For the vocalism of suffixal *-aiññe* and *-aññe*, see Winter 1990. Van Windekens (1941: 45) correctly derived this word from the IE root *\*ker-* 'to croak, caw, make a rough sound' with tectal extension *\*krek-* (cf. MlIrish *cercc* 'hen') that shows a nasalized variant *\*krenk-* in Lith. *krañkti* 'to croak, caw', Russ. *krjakat* 'to groan, make noise', etc. B *krānko* reflects CT *\*krānko* or *\*kr'ānko* from IE *\*kṛnkōn* or *\*krenkōn*. The expected metathesis of *-rā-* to *-ār-* is usually blocked in a closed syllable.

A *krāntso* (adj., only f.) 'beautiful' supplies the feminine forms in a suppletive paradigm with A *kāwālte* 'id.' (only m.), *q.v.* The flexion is that of adj. class II,5 (obl.sg. *krāntsonām*, nom.pl. *krānts(o)n(āñ)*, obl.pl. *krāntsonās*). A *krāntso* is formed to the fem.sg. A (*krānts*\* <) *\*krāntsā* through the addition of a suffixal *\*-wol/\*-wān-* (or perhaps already generalized *\*-wān/\*-wān-*), i.e. as if *\*krāntsā-wol-wān* > *\*krāntsāw* > *krāntso*, obl.sg. *\*krāntsā-wān-ān-* > *krāntsonām*, etc. See also B *kare* 'good' (A *kār*), A *krats* 'good', B *kartse* 'good', B *kārtsauñe* 'good deed, merit', B *krentauna* 'virtues', B *kremot*\* 'quality alcohol'.

B *krāñi* (obl.sg., gender unknown) 'neck, nape (of the neck)' is a *hapax* of Y 2 a3 where – amongst parts of the head in an enumeration of various bodyparts and ailments – it translates Skt. *manyā* 'neck', see discussion of this by Adams 1983b: 759. Adams suggests "*krāñi* is the equivalent of Gk. *κράνιον* '(top of the) head', both from PIE *\*krAsnfyom*". However, while Adams is probably right that the Greek and Tocharian words are cognates, they do not form a direct equation. A neuter in IE *\*-ijo-m* would in West Tocharian have had a final *-iye* (or *-ye*). Furthermore, in my opinion, there is no basis for assuming that IE *\*-sn-* lost the *-s-* in Tocharian. In its context, the form *krāñi* can only be seen as an obl.sg. In all probability, this implies a nom.sg. *\*krañiye*, a feminine noun of class VI,1 (type B *kālymiye* 'quarter, region', obl.sg. *kālymi*). The nouns of this class reflect formations in suffixal *\*-en-* (cf. again *kālymiye* based on a form in *\*-men-*). For the putative B *\*krañiye* one might then reconstruct a CT *\*krāñ-āy-* < *\*krāñ-ān-*, ultimately reflecting (as if) IE *\*kṛH₂-n-en-*, an *n*-stem formation to *\*kṛH₂-n-* to the root *\*ker-H₂-* 'head'.

A *krārp-* is found in a past participle form of 353 a4 *sutram kākrārpū* '(Skt.) sutraparyāpannam', and translated by Poucha (1955: 91) with "abire, discedere". However, this form is probably to be seen as an error for *kākrārpū*, the expected past ptc. to the verb A *kārp-* 'to descend', *q.v.*

B *krās-* 'to vex, irritate' (pres. IV [3sg. med.] *krosotār* (K.T. Schmidt 1982: 371 n.62), intens. pret. [3sg. med.] *krāsiyate*, pret. Ibβ [3sg.] *krāsa*, caus. pres. IX [3sg.] *krāsāššām*, [impf. 3sg. med.] *krāsāššitrā* (sic)), A *krās-* 'id.' (caus. subj. XII [ger.] *krāšiññāl*). As shown by Winter (1977: 151sq.), East Tocharian subjunctives in *-yññā/a-* are extensions of earlier subjunctives of class II. A *krāšiññā/a-* has thus replaced earlier *\*krāsā/a-*. Such a subj. II would fit in a paradigm with pres. VIII, the match of the B causative pres. IX, but not in a paradigm with a non-causative pres. IV, matching B *krosotār*. The paradigm pattern, therefore, demands seeing A *krāšiññāl* as a causative subjunctive, cf. discussion in Hilmarsson 1991b: 95 and also 1991c: 143sq. Van Windekens (originally 1941: 45) associated this verb with Lith. *grasā* 'threat, menace', *grēsti* 'to threaten', *gristi* 'to become vexed', etc., and derived it from IE *\*ghrōs-*. However, the proposed *ō*-grade lacks motivation, and one might therefore rather think of an *o*-grade *\*ghros-* and a subsequent development of Toch. *\*krās-ā-* to *\*krās-ā-* through *ā*-umlaut and generalization of that vocalism in the entire paradigm. This is not satisfactory though, because generalization of an *ā*-vocalism is not what one would expect in East Tocharian. It is frequent in West Tocharian, because of the wide application of *ā*-umlaut in the subjunctive V in that language, whereas in East Tocharian *ā*-umlaut is much more restricted, cf. the pres. IV B *klautkotār* with generalized *āu*-vocalism as against the pres. VII A *lotāñkās* with generalized *aeu*-vocalism as seen by its present class membership. A different etymology was proposed by K.T. Schmidt (1982: 371-372) who suggested a connection with Gk. *κοπέω* (act.) 'sate; (med.) be satiated, become vexed' (aor. *κοπέσ(σ)αι*). This Greek verb is traditionally associated with IE *\*kerH<sub>1</sub>-*, *\*kreH<sub>1</sub>-* 'to grow, nourish', and K.T. Schmidt suggested Toch. *krās-* reflected a preform *\*kr<sub>2</sub>-s-*, pointing out at the same time that this might be difficult in view of the *e*-colouring effect of the laryngeal. One might indeed expect IE *\*k<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>-s-* to yield Toch. *\*kārs-*, unless one would allow for the possibility that the normal grade *\*kreH<sub>1</sub>-s-* triggered the creation of a secondary zero grade *\*kr<sub>2</sub>-s-* that yielded Toch. *\*krās-*, cf. B *krāt-* 'to challenge(?)' for another possible example of this. Beside these formal problems – which may not be insurmountable – there are difficulties on the semantic side: the meaning 'to be vexed' appears to be secondary in the Greek verb. The fact that B *krās-* forms a present of class IV – barring an analogical or generalized vocalism – makes it extremely likely that this verb derives from an IE root with an *a*-

or *ā*-vocalism. I have therefore suggested (Hilmarsson 1991c: 146) that an appropriate cognate is found in Gmc. *\*hrōzian* 'to move, stir; touch', cf. OIcel. *hrōra* 'to move, stir; touch', OE *hrēran* 'id.', OS *hrōrian* 'id.', OHG *hruoren* 'id.'. This verb frequently denotes the stirring of the mind, feelings, sorrow, anger, and the like, cf., e.g., OIcel. *hrōrisk hatr* 'hate stirs', *hrōrðr* '(emotionally) stirred', etc. Semantically parallel, CT *\*krās-* would mean 'to be emotionally stirred, irritated, vexed'. Formally, *\*krās-* would reflect a zero grade IE *\*k<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>-s-*, or possibly an *o*-grade *\*kroH<sub>2</sub>-s-* like the Germanic forms. See also B *krāso* 'vexation, anger' (A *krāso*).

A *-krase* (gender unknown; *hapax*) 'flight, shot' is found only in the compound *pār-ra-krase* 'arrow-flight, arrow-shot', and may be a noun of class VI,4 (type A *karke* 'branch; foliage'), whose final *-e* may somehow reflect a nasal suffix. A *-krase* indicates the (previous) existence of a verbal root A *\*kārs-* with stem-forming thematic *-s-*, matching B *kārsk-* 'to let fly, shoot, throw' with *-sk-*. B *kārsk-*, A *\*kārs-* reflect PT *\*krās(k)-* (< IE *\*(s)kri-sk-*). A normal grade *\*krās(k)-* (A *-krase* from CT *\*krās-[ān- ?]*) must have been created at some stage to *\*krās(k)-* in the wake of the processes described by Adams 1978.

B *krāso* (n.), A *krāso* (m. sg.) 'vexation, disgust' is in West Tocharian a neuter of class III,1 (pl. *krasonta*). A *krāso* is a borrowing from West Tocharian; otherwise one would have expected A *\*krās*. Deverbatively formed to B *krās-* 'to be vexed' (cf. B *palsko* 'thought' [pl. *pālskonta*] to *pālsk-* 'to think' [A *pālsāk*, pl. *pālskānt*]), B *krāso* reflects CT *\*krāsā*, a formation in IE *\*-ā* (*\*-eH<sub>2</sub>*). See B *krās-* 'to be vexed' (A *krās-*).

B *krāt-* 'to challenge(?)' (caus. pret. IV [ptc.] *kakrātāsu*). This verb is a *hapax* found only in 110 M a8 (ti) *syentise* [ka]krāt[ā]su māthare [pā]y- yā /// 'Māthare, challenged by (Ti)šya ...' (cf. Krause 1952: 189). The translation given here is only approximate; one might also posit 'provoked', or 'defied', *vel sim*. Van Windekens (1976: 234) suggests an association with OE *grētan* 'to accost, challenge', OHG *gruozen* 'salute, accost', OIcel. *grōta* 'make cry', all from Gmc. *\*grōtian*, presumably from *\*ghroH<sub>1</sub>d-*, to an IE *\*ghreH<sub>1</sub>d-*, an extension of the IE root *\*gher-* 'make a sound, snarl, call out'. The vocalism of B *krāt-* is problematic though. It cannot reflect an *e*-grade *\*ghreH<sub>1</sub>d-* which would have given CT *\*kræt-* > B *\*kret-*, and a zero grade *\*gh<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>d-* would have resulted in CT *\*kärt-* > B *\*kärt-*, if it is correct that *\*-H<sub>1</sub>-* leaves no trace

in this position, cf. B *kantär* 'comes into being' < \**gñHj-tro*. One would then have to settle for an *o*-grade (as in OE *grētan*, etc.) \**ghroHj-d-* that would correctly result in CT \**krāt-* > B *krāt-*. However, it is perhaps conceivable that a normal grade \**kræt-* (< \**ghreHj-d-*) triggered the creation of a secondary zero grade \**ghr<sub>2</sub>Hd-* > Toch. \**krāt-* instead of expected Toch. \**krāt-* > \**kārt-*, cf. BA *krās-* 'to vex' for the possibility of such a development. In view of the doubtful meaning and isolated attestation of this verb, however, any etymological explanation is necessarily unreliable.

A *krats* (indecl.[?] adj.) 'good' is found in the tale of the mechanical maiden, 24 b5 *caš krats spaktānyo* translated by Sieg 1944: 29: "Durch diesen guten Dienst ...". A further occurrence may be 372 a3, and a derived abstract *kratsune*\* 'goodness' is found in 247 b1. This form has apparently been seen as an error for *krant*. However, should it be a correct form, it would confirm the interpretation of A *kār* (and B *kare*) as 'good', for *krats* would be analyzable as \**kāra-ts(ts)a*, a secondary extension in \*-*tsts-* of A *kār* < \**kāra* < CT \**kāræ*. Note that A *karts* is not a formal equivalent of B *kartse*, q.v. See also B *kare* 'good' (A *kār*), B *kartse* 'good', B *kārtsauñe* 'good deed, merit', A *krāntso* 'beautiful', B *krentauna* 'virtues', B *kremot*\* 'quality alcohol(?)'.

A *kratsune* 'goodness', see A *krats* 'good'.

B *kraup-* 'to gather, assemble' (pres. II [3sg. med.] *kr(au)pträ*, [ptc.] *(kre)wpemane* (MQ), [impf. 3pl. med.] *kraupiyenträ*, pres. VI [3pl. med.] *kraupnanträ*, [ger.] *kraupanalle*, subj. II [3sg. med.] *krauptär*, [3pl. med.] *kraupentär*, subj. V [inf.] *kraupatsi*, [opt. 3sg. med.] *kraupoytär*, pret. Ibß [3sg. med.] *kraupäte*, [ptc.] *kakraupau*, caus. pret. IV [3pl.] *kraupäššare*), A *kraup-* 'id.' (pres. II [3sg. med.] *kroptär*, [ptc.] *kropmām*, pres. [ptc. med.] *kropnāmām*, [impf. 3sg. med.] *kropñāt*, subj. V [opt. 3sg. med.] *kropitär*, [ger.] *kropal*, [imp. 2sg. med.] *päkropā(r)*, pret. I [3pl. med.] *kropant*, [ptc.] *kākropu*, *kākrupu*). The A past ptc. *kākrupu*, attested once, shows the expected reduction of -*āu-* to -*äu-* > -*u-* in medial syllable, but -*äu-* > -*o-* has been restored in all other attested cases. A double paradigm as seen here (pres. II and VI, subj. II and V) is not unique in Tocharian. Thus, for B *säl-* 'to take aloft' (as discussed in Hilmarsson 1990, e.g., p. 103), a nasal present must be assumed to have existed beside an attested *i<sup>h</sup>o-* present. A pattern of pres. II beside pres. VI may have been established in Tocharian, into which BA *kraup-* may have entered

secondarily. It seems likely that the subj. V stem CT \**kräupā-* (B *kräupā-*, A *kropā-*) gave rise secondarily to the pres. VI CT \**kräupāñā-* (B \**kraupāñā-* [possibly *kräupāñā-*], A *kropnā-*), following a pattern seen in, e.g., the verb B *kaut-* 'to cleave, split'. The pres./subj. II stem reflects CT \**kräupāl/ä-* (cf. pres. ptc. B MQ *(kre)wpemane*). This stem might have an *o*-vocalism, which could indicate a number of things: an old *o*-present, a derivation from the perfect, or even a denominative formation to the *o*-grade abstract B *kraupe*, A *krop* 'assembly, group' (q.v.). As a second, less probable, alternative, it might have an *ē*-vocalism (a Narten-present?). The subj. V has suffered *ā*-umlaut in West Tocharian, cf. the umlauted prefix vocalism of the privative B *akraupatte* 'uncollected, distracted' (*hapax*) < \**ā(ñ)kräupätte* to B \**kräupā-* with initial accent. Etymologically, B *kraup-*, A *krop-* 'to gather, assemble' are probably correctly associated with Lith. *krāuti* 'to pile up, heap together, load, collect' (originally Van Windekens 1941: 45). While the Lithuanian verb seems to reflect IE \**krauH<sub>2</sub>-*, the Tocharian one would reflect IE \**kroH<sub>2</sub>u-* (rather than \**krēH<sub>2</sub>u-*) > \**krou-*, extended with a labial occlusive, possibly \*-*p-*, cf. Lith. *krópti* 'to steal' with a rearranged ablaut. See also the regularly formed *o*-grade abstract B *kraupe* 'assembly, group' (A *krop*).

B *kraupe* (m.), A *krop* (m., only sg.) 'assembly, group; heap, pile' is a thematic noun of class V,1 (pl. B *kraupi*, obl. *kraupem*). This is a regularly formed *o*-grade abstract to the verb B *kraup-*, A *krop-* 'to assemble, collect', reflecting CT \**kräupæ* (cf. once B MQ [loc.sg.] *(kre)wpene*), as if IE \**kro(H<sub>2</sub>)upo-*. A derived endocentric adj. is B *kraupešše* 'pertaining to the collection'. Note the East Tocharian compound *kropa-krop* 'by heaps'. See also B *kraup-* 'to assemble, collect' (A *krop-*).

B *kre-e* 'permission, leave' is a *hapax* of KVāc. 19 b4 *plāksatai-me kre-e* 'did you ask them (scil. the parents) for permission (scil. to become a monk)?'. Unfortunately, the internal consonant is unreadable. Any etymological explanation is therefore impossible.

B *kremiya* (f.) '?' is a *hapax* of W 5 a6 - - *re erkāntse yasoñña kremiya tsānkana pyāpyo* [*šart* ?]. It is presumably a feminine noun, qualified by the preceding *yasoñña* 'pertaining to pleasure'. As the meaning of *kremiya* is unknown, any etymological explanation is futile.

B *kremot\** (gender unknown) '?' is a hapax of W 37 a3 (*špa*)[*k*](*aim*) [*tsi*]kallona *kremotsa āšne ya(mašä)lle* '(pills) are to be made [and] applied to the head with *k*'. Broomhead (1962a: 36) suggests that *kremot\** must be some kind of alcohol (*mot* 'alcohol'), cf. *kuñimot* 'rice brandy'. Should it be a compound, B *kre=mot* could reflect *\*käre-mot* (with compound accentuation) and be interpreted as 'quality alcohol, good alcohol', cf. B *kare*, A *kär* 'good', *q.v.* See also A *krats* 'good', B *kartse* 'good', B *kärtsauñe* 'good deed, merit', A *kräntso* 'beautiful', B *krentauna* 'virtues'.

B *krent*, A *krant* 'good', see B *kartse* 'good', B *kare* 'good' (A *kär*).

B *krentauna* (pl. tant. f.) 'virtues' is a noun of class II,1 and presumably a *genus alternans*. The dialect form *krentewna* (MQ) shows that *krentauna* is not simply formed to the fem. pl. stem *\*krentā*. B *krentauna* must reflect earlier *\*kärentewnā*, and this could be analyzed as the obl. stem *krent-* followed by a suffixal *-ewnā*, whatever that suffix represents (cf. A *kräntson-* < *\*-tsā-wān-*, see A *kräntso*). It seems possible, however, that CT *\*kärəntəwānā* represents earlier *\*kärəntən-wān-ā* through dissimilatory loss of the nasal, based on an *n*-stem *\*kärənt-ən-*, cf. discussion of the suffix conglomerate under B *kerekauna* 'torrent'. An endocentric B *krentaunašše* 'pertaining to virtue' and an exocentric B *krentaunatstse* 'having virtues' are formed to B *krentauna*. See also B *kare* 'good' (A *kär*), A *krats* 'good', B *kartse* 'good', B *kärtsauñe* 'good deed, merit', A *kräntso* 'beautiful', B *kremot\** 'quality alcohol'.

B *krepaste\** (m.) '(small) ball, (Skt.) *guḍā*', presumably a thematic noun of class V,1. It translates Skt. *guḍā* in the bilingual 529 D b5 *///(g)[u]ḍābhi · iñcuwaññem krepaste(ntsā)* 'with iron balls'. B *krepaste\** reflects CT *\*krəpāstə*, cf. also KVāc 15 b3 *eñcuwaññem palkoṣā(m) krepastam* (for *krepastem*) 'glowing iron pills' (K.T. Schmidt 1986b: 79, 132, who also cites Mainz, 2, B b6 *krepāste* *///*). The formation of this word, as well as its further reconstruction and etymological association, is unclear.

B *kretswe\** (gender unknown), A *kratsu\** (gender unknown) 'rag, piece of cloth'. While B *kretswe\** is attested only in the singular (perl. *kretsweša*), and thus does not reveal its noun class appurtenance, A *kratsu* is a thematic noun, presumably masculine, of class V,1 (pl. nom. *kratswañ*, obl. *kratswas*). Van Windekens has repeatedly suggested that these words derive from the IE root *\*(s)ker-* 'to cut' with a dental extension. While that connection is

in principle probably correct, his details are not. The CT preform was *\*krats(u)wə*, which one might take to reflect *\*kratsāwə* from (as if) IE *\*krodhi-uo-* (cf. B *leswe\** 'a spell of faintness, weakness' < *\*losi-uo-* [for the lack of palatalization, see *s.v.*], cf. Goth. *lasiws* 'weak'). IE *\*krodhi-* would be a derivative of *\*(s)kredh-*, *\*(s)kṛdh-* 'to cut off; stump, small' as seen in Skt. *kṛdhú-* 'stumped, shortened' (comp. *kradhīyas-*, superl. *kradiṣṭha-*), etc. The root *\*(s)kredh-* is presumably an extension of IE *\*(s)ker-* 'to cut'.

A *kri* 'will', see B *käryāñ* 'hearts'.

B *kronkše\** (gender unknown), A *kronše* (gender unknown) 'bee' is in West Tocharian a noun of class V,2 (obl.sg. *krokš\**, gen.pl. *krokšamts*, *krokšamts* (MQR), *kronšamts*), while A *kronše* is only attested as such (nom.sg.). The variants B *krokš-* and *kronš-*, combined with A *kronš-*, surely indicate an underlying radical *\*kronkš-*. As a class V,2 noun, A *kronše* probably represents a borrowing from West Tocharian. Etymologically, this word has remained unclear. Van Windekens (1976: 627) suggests Tibeto-Chinese origin, Isebaert (1980: 147-148) Indian origin. There have been frequent attempts at an association with Lat. *crābrō* 'hornet', etc., but the phonological details have been cumbersome (Schrader & Nehring 1929: 654, Benveniste 1936: 234 [= 1959: 101], Lane 1938: 35 [= 1967: 18], and others). See discussion (with lit.) in Hilmarsson 1986a: 34sq.; there I suggested B *kronkše\** might (through dissimilation) be connected with Gmc. *\*hunanga-* 'honey' < IE *\*kṛHonkó-* (cognate with Skt. *kāñcanā-* 'golden' [< *\*kṛHykenó-*], Gk. *κνηκός* [Dor. *κνᾱκός*] 'yellowish' [second nasal lost by dissimilation], etc.). Elaborating a little on my previous proposal, it might be suggested that an IE *\*kṛHonko-* 'honey' produced an individualizing *n*-stem derivative *\*kṛHonk-ōn* 'one of the honey, bee', in an ablating paradigm with the stem *\*kṛHonk-en-*. These stem forms yielded CT *\*kānəñko* > *\*kānəñko* (by *o*-umlaut) and *\*kānəñsān-*; through dissimilation we get CT *\*kāronko*, *\*kānəñsān-*. The generalization of the *o*-vocalism (*\*kāronko*, *\*kānəñsān-*) is an easy step. The final step is more speculative: one must assume that the palatal of the oblique cases led to the interpretation of this word as being of class V,2 flexion (type *kektseñe*, obl. *kektseñ*), whereby the palatal was introduced in the cases that originally had a non-palatal. This process would have been expected to result in B *kronše\**, *\*kronš*, but it appears that the velar pronunciation of the *-ñ* persisted and led to the

introduction of an epenthetic *-k-*, i.e. CT *\*kāronko* → *\*kāronśæ* > *\*kāronkśæ* > B *\*kāronkśe* > *kronkśe\**.

B *krorīyai* (f. obl.sg. [hapax, plus once *kro-*]), A *kror* (n.?) '(B) horn; (A) crescent, horn of the moon'. B *krorīyai*, probably only 'horn', not 'crescent' (cf. 580 S b4 *tarnene krorīyai* 'the horn on the top of the head'), implies a nom.sg. *krorīyalo\** of noun class VI,3a, an extended formation in comparison with the unextended A *kror* (probably a neuter of noun class II,1). Both reflect CT *\*krāwār* through contraction (perhaps through an intermediate CT *\*krowār*, Þórhallsdóttir 1988: 199). From IE *\*ghreH<sub>1</sub>-u<sub>r</sub>* 'horn, sth. sticking out', cf. Arm. *eḡiwr* 'horn'. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1985a: 40-47, 1986a: 205-216 with note p. 353-354.

B *krośce* (adj.), A *krośśām* (adj., m. obl.sg.) 'cold' qualifies words for water in most of its occurrences. Its paradigm is to a certain degree irregular. To B *krośce* (attested once in H 149. 122 b2) the masc. obl.sg. form *kroścam* is attested twice, probably three times (29 Š a6, PK 7 K a3, and probably 286 S b6). One might have expected *kroścām*, which is not attested at all. The B loc.sg. *krośne*, which is sometimes cited, is not a form of this adjective, but belongs to B *kroś* (= A *kroś*), a measure of length (Skt. *krośa-*). The masc. nom.pl. B *krośsi* is found without context (452 MQ 2), but is probably correctly defined; Broomhead 1962b: 102 notes the form *krości* but without attestation. Furthermore, West Tocharian has the regular fem. nom.pl. form *kroścana*. In East Tocharian, the masc. nom.sg. *kāras* (q.v.) is suppletive. A *kroś*, sometimes cited as a masc. nom.sg., is not an adjective, but (like B *kroś-ne*) equals Skt. *krośa-*, a measure of length. Otherwise, the East Tocharian forms inflect as class I,1b adjectives (type A *tsopats*), viz. masc. obl.sg. *krośśām*, nom.pl. (*kroś*)*śe*, obl.pl. *krośśes*, fem. nom.sg. *krośśi*, obl.sg. *krośśām*, nom.pl. *krośśāñ*, obl.pl. *krośśās*. In both languages abstracts are formed to this adjective: A *krośśune* 'coldness' (hapax) is quite regular to the stem *krośś-*, but B has once *krośśaññe* (Y 3 a4) 'coldness' and once *k[r]ośśeññe* (196 M a1), with a presumably secondarily diphthongized variant *kraußeññe* (196 M a3). It seems possible that the first is formed to the obl.sg. *kroścām\** (if that is the regular form in spite of the attested *kroścam*), and that the second is formed to the nom.sg. *krośce*. Beside these two forms, West Tocharian has once *krostaññe* (100 Š b2) with the derived endocentric adj. *krostaññe* (hapax 197 M b5), for *\*krostaññe*. Duchesne-Guillemin (1941: 155) correctly associated these Tocharian words with Gk. *κρύσταλλος* 'ice', *κρυσταίνουμαι* 'I am

congealed with cold', etc. On the basis of Adams' (1980[81]: 442 n.10) reconstruction of the paradigm here, the Tocharian forms can be accounted for in the following manner. Gk. *τὸ κρύος* 'frost' indicates an IE *s*-stem *\*kreu-os*, gen.sg. *\*kru-s-és*. To this *s*-stem an adjectival *\*krus-to-* was formed, which in turn gave rise to Lat. *crusta* 'crust' and the denominative Gk. *κρυσταίνουμαι*, etc. The adj. *\*krus-to-* received an *n*-extension and became *\*krustōn*. This *n*-stem was apophonic and it served as the basis of the Tocharian forms. IE *\*krustōn*, *\*krusten-* yielded CT *\*krosto* (through *o*-umlaut), *\*krāścān-*, and these forms were levelled to *\*krosto*, *\*kroścān-*. The palatalized *-śc-* won out, and the *ōn*-form of the nom.sg. was replaced by an *ēn*-form, whereby the paradigm was levelled to *\*kroścā*, *\*kroścān-*, yielding B *krośce*, *kroścām\**, etc. The change of a paradigm in *\*-ōn/\*-en-* to one (as if) in *\*-ēn/\*-en-* can also be observed in the case of B *kronkśe\** 'bee' (q.v.). A remnant of the non-palatalized stem can still be seen in the derivative B *krostaññe* 'coldness', formed to a weak stem in *\*-ān- < \*-u-*. As indicated above, A *kāras* 'cold' is not cognate.

A *\*kru* 'reed', see B *kārwañts* 'reeds' (A *kārwañ*).

A *krutsi* is mentioned by Sieg & Siegling & Schulze (1931: 435) as occurring twice in (Berlin) fragments. It is assumed to be the infinitive to a verbal root *kru-*. Meaning and etymology unclear.

B *ksa* (indef. pron.) 'some(body), one, any(body)' with the obl.sg. *kca*, and the gen.sg. *ketara*, *ketra*. There is no corresponding form in East Tocharian; here *sañ*, obl.sg. *cam*, gen.sg. *ke*, are used in the same function. The genitive forms are quite straightforward. B *ketara* is a prose form, *ketra* a verse form, based on the shortened form gen.sg. *ket* (unshortened form *kete*) to the interrogative pronoun B *kāse* (q.v.) through the addition of the enclitic particle B *ra*. B *ketara/ketra* could be morphophonemically reconstructed as B *\*ketārā*, cf. the derived possessive adj. B 89 Š a4 *ketrāññe* 'belonging to somebody'. There is no immediate formational connection between B *ketara*, *ketra* and Lit. *katràs* 'which', etc., as suggested by Pedersen 1941: 122. A *ke* is identical with the genitive of the East Tocharian interrogative pronoun. The history and origins of B *ksa* are difficult to assess. It seems never to carry the accent, being always either enclitic or proclitic. I know of only two instances with *ksā* for *ksa*. One is in the MQR text 139 a4, the other is in 89 Š b6, a text that has further instances of *ā* for expected *a*. If *ksa* has always been unaccented, the traditional understanding that the *k-* is a reduced form of the

$k_u$ - of the interrogative B  $k_u$ se may well be correct, cf. B  $mäksu$  'who',  $makte$  'self' that show the same reduction of unaccented  $k_u$ -. The  $-sa < -sā$  has been more troublesome. Van Windekens (1976: 237) opts for a generalization of the old feminine form  $*sā$ . That is a very unsatisfactory solution, however, for there is no apparent reason for such a process. In view of this difficulty, the following solution might be proposed. As is well known, IE  $*ē$  and  $*o$  develop in a parallel manner in Tocharian, normally yielding B  $e$ , A  $a$ . It is furthermore known that in final position of a monosyllable IE  $*ē$  yields CT  $*ā$ . Thus IE  $*mē$  'not' > CT  $*mā$  (BA  $mā$ ), contrasting with the development before an enclitic, viz. IE  $*mē$   $rH_2$  'and not' > CT  $*mērā$  > A  $mar$ . In my discussion of B  $ka$ , it was suggested that this particle, reflecting CT  $*kā$ , was parallel to BA  $mā$  in this respect, and should be derived from an IE  $*gho$  with a development of final  $*o$  in a monosyllable to  $*ā$ , while the regular development of that same particle in a disyllabic form could be seen in A  $kar$  'even, indeed' < CT  $*kārā$  < IE  $*gho$   $rH_2$ . This line of reasoning could now be applied to B  $ksa$ . If the reduction of an original unaccented  $*k'is-so$  was early enough to produce a pre- or Proto-Toch.  $*k's-so > *kso$ , this form joined in the development of other monosyllables and resulted in CT  $*ksā$  regularly. See also B  $kā$  'why', B  $katu$  'for, namely', B  $kāitsi$  'why then', B  $kos$  'how much' (A  $kos$ ), B  $k_u$ se 'who' (A  $kus$ ), B  $k_u$ tamem 'from where', A  $k_u$ yal 'why', B  $kwri$  'if' (A  $kupre$ ) [[B  $mäksu$  'who']].

- A  $ksā$ - '±to shine on, illuminate' (pret Ibβ [ptc. nom.pl. fem.]  $kāksont$ ) is a hapax of 312 a3  $tāpreṃ tāprenāk mrācāṣ ṣuṅkā(ṣ) swāñcenāñ nā(ktas na)penās kāksont oki$  —  $śāk kālymentwaṃ satkar$  'So much the rays spread out in the ten directions from the top of the head [and] from the mouth, practically illuminating gods [and] men'. The fem. pl.  $kāksont$  implies a nom.sg. masc.  $kākso*$ , which, in turn, implies a verbal root  $ksā$ -, while  $*kās$ - would have produced the form  $*kāksu$ , fem. pl.  $*kāksunt$ . A  $ksā$ - cannot derive from  $*kāsā$ - for that would leave the unlauded reduplication syllable of  $kāksunt$  unexplained. Rather,  $ksā$ - is to be interpreted on a par with A  $wā$ - 'to lead' and  $klā$ - 'to fall'. These latter two verbal stems form the past participles  $wāwo$  and  $kāklo$  from  $*wāwāyāu$  and  $*kāklāw'āu$  respectively, corresponding to B  $wawāyau$  and  $kaklāyau$ , and have thus suffered (East Tocharian) contraction from  $*wāyā$ - and  $*klāw'ā$ -. Accordingly, A  $ksā$ - reflects earlier  $*ksāyā$ -,  $*ksāwā$ - or  $*ksāw'ā$ -. Etymological affinities are unclear. Van Windekens (1976: 237) suggests connection

with A  $^1kās$ - 'to extinguish'. However, the formal relationship to that verb as well as to A  $^3kās$ - 'to be bright, shine(?)' remains unclear.

- A  $ksār$  (adv.) 'in the morning' is attested some two or three times, and its meaning is assured. It is once found extended with the emphatic particle  $-k$ , viz.  $ksār.k$ . Furthermore, an adjectival  $ksār.ki$  'pertaining to morning' is found once with the adj. suffix  $-i$  (< CT  $*-iyā$ ) added to the extended form  $ksār.k$ . As suggested by Anreiter (1987: 110-111), A  $ksār$  is to be connected with Lat. *heri* 'yesterday', Gk.  $χθές$  'id.', etc. A detailed discussion of A  $ksār$  is found in Hilmarsson 1991e (with lit. and weighing of earlier proposals), where Anreiter's suggestion is approved of and improved. It seems that A  $ksār$  can be seen as an exact equivalent of Goth. *gistra*- in *gistradagis* 'tomorrow'. As an IE preform one may posit  $*ghdjes-tro$ - 'the adjacent day'. The initial cluster was aspirated throughout in an assimilatory process, yielding IE  $*ghdhjes-tro$ - (cf. Gk.  $χθές$  for that phenomenon). This latter form resulted in CT  $*ktsāstrā > *ktsāsrā$  ( $-str$ - loses the dental occlusive, as, e.g., in BA *sruk*- 'to die', cognate of Gk. *σπεύγωμαι* 'I perish, go away', etc.; cf. discussion in my work cited). CT  $*ktsāsrā$  yielded A  $*ktsāsrā$  which through apocope and anaptyxis became  $*ktsāsār$  and later  $*ktssār$  through syncope. It may be suggested that the cluster of this form was simplified to yield the attested A  $ksār$ . See also B  $ksar*$  '?'.
- B  $ksar*$  '?' is a hapax of KVāc. 27 a2 /// *paintsa ksartsa [wa](t)* for which K.T. Schmidt (1986b: 96; see also p. VIII) cautiously suggests the meaning "abends(?) oder morgens(?)", pointing to A  $ksār$  'in the morning'. It is conceivable that B  $ksar*$  matches A  $ksār$ , but it is by no means certain. Until further instances of B  $ksar*$  are brought forth, one may prefer to discount its relationship with A  $ksār$ , especially since the latter may ultimately reflect IE  $*ghdjes-tro$ -, with which the final of B  $ksar*$  is not reconcilable. See also A  $ksār$  'in the morning'.
- A  $kṣā$  '?' is an unclear form — possibly for  $kāṣ$  — of the bilingual 359, 13 /// *risām kṣā nāknāstrā-m*. Unfortunately, the Sanskrit equivalent is lost. Poucha<sup>5</sup> suggests that the form  $kṣis$  of 371 b2 is a genitive to  $kṣā$ , but it seems probable that  $kṣis$  stands for the obl.pl.  $kāṣṣis$  to  $kāṣṣi$  'master, teacher', esp. since it is followed by  $ṣpādhyās$ , the obl.pl. of *upādhyā* 'teacher'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Poucha 1955: 98.



A *kšāly* '?' is attested twice in line 144 a1 *māmne kokāssi lāmś tsopatsām wrā ešāk kšāly kšālyac ymām te* – 'as the kings of the kok-birds, going over the great water *kšāly kšālyac*'. Unfortunately, it is unclear what the phrase *kšāly kšālyac* means. Etymology unknown.

B *ktakāt* (gender unknown) '(contemptuous) finger gesture, spreading of the fingers' is attested twice in a Vinaya text, viz. H 149. 311 a1 (and a2) (*k<sub>u</sub>se ša*)[*m*](*ā*)[*n*](*e*) *šamāneṃ ktakāt yamašām* 'whichever monk makes a finger gesture towards a monk ...'. The etymology of this word is unclear. Reflecting CT *\*kātākāt(ā)*, it would seem possible to take it as an expressive reduplicated formation to the verb *kāt-* 'to scatter, spread', *q.v.* See also B *kāsk-* 'to scatter', B *sāktālye* 'seed'.

B *ksaitse* (adj.) 'aged', A *ktsets* (indecl. adj.) 'perfect, achieved' is in West Tocharian a normal adjective in *-ts-* (note the gen.pl. *ksaic(c)emts* found several times in Paris texts, cf. Pinault 1990: 180) with a dual *ksaitsī* (Berlin fragm., cf. K.T. Schmidt 1987: 288). Once written *ksaise*. The derived abstract B *ksaitsñe*, *ksaitsāñne* (*ksaitsāmñe*) 'old age' produced an endocentric adj. *ksaitsāmñeṣṣe* 'pertaining to old age'. The form *ksaitsñai* of K 5 a6 *ksaitsñai preṣiyaine* 'in the time of old age' presumably has an erroneous *-ai* for expected *-e*, rather than being a feminine to an adjectival *ksaits(āñ)ñe*. As for the meaning, A *ktsets* 'perfect, achieved' indicates that the basic sense must have been 'coming to an end, achieving fully', which – as pointed out by Pinault (1990: 181) – makes the traditional etymological association of this word with Ved. *kṣīṇāti* 'destroys', Gk. *φθίνω* 'I perish' (cf., e.g., Anreiter [1987: 110] < *\*g<sup>h</sup>poi-tjo-*) difficult and unlikely. As noted by Pedersen (1944: 9), B *ksaitse* and A *ktsets* have the appearance of being normal adjectives with suffixal *-ts-* formed to an underlying obl.sg. in B *-ai*, A *-e* (from CT *\*.āi*). Such obl.sg. forms indicate a nom.sg. in B *-o* or *-iye*, and one would find it extremely likely that such a nominative was disyllabic (trisyllabic if the ending was *-iye*). That is to say, one would reconstruct a CT preform *\*kātso*/*\*kātsiye*, obl.sg. *\*kātsāi*. Indirect evidence for the disyllabic structure comes from the abstract *ksaitsāñne* that is written so even in Šorčuq texts. Had *ksai-* been morphophonemically monosyllabic, the abstract might have been expected to have the form *\*ksaitsāñne* in Šorčuq texts. CT *\*kātso* must reflect an IE root in initial non-labiovelar, radical *i-* or *u-* vocalism, and a root-final or suffixal *-t-* or *-dh-* followed by suffixal *\*-jōn*. These requirements are met, if one posits an *n*-stem

extension of a *to*-formation (*-to-* is usually replaced by *-tjo-* in Tocharian) or a *ti*-formation to the IE root *\*g<sup>h</sup>eH<sub>1</sub>i-* 'to bud, blossom, ripen'. That is, one might posit an IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>eH<sub>1</sub>i-tjōn* that would yield CT *\*kātso* quite regularly and this noun, or rather its obl.sg. *\*kātsāi*, would produce the adj. *\*kātsaitse* > B *ksaitse*, A *ktsets*. Semantically, this is also a fitting etymology. A *ktsets* 'perfect, achieved' means simply 'having full blossom', while B *ksaitse* 'aged' means 'having had full blossom, matured, old'.

B *ku*, *kū* (m., only sg.), A *ku*, *kū* (m., only sg.) 'dog', has in the obl.sg. the forms B *kwem* (attested PK 13 H b3,4) and A *kom* (attested only in 360, 9, a bilingual text that does not show us the meaning of this word though; however, the handbooks do not seem to have any doubts about it). This word clearly represents the IE word for 'dog', cf. Skt. *ś(u)vā*, Gk. *κύων*, etc., as already proposed by Sieg & Siegling 1908: 927. B and A *ku* (*kū* is only an orthographic variant) reflect CT *\*kuwā* or *\*kuwu* from IE *\*kuuō* (Lindeman's variant), not *\*kuuōn* which would have yielded CT *\*kuwo* > B *\*kuwo*. The oblique forms reflect a generalized Lindeman's initial, i.e. *\*kuuon-ṇi* and not a *\*kuon-ṇi* which would have yielded CT *\*k<sup>w</sup>ænā(ṇ)* > *\*kænā(ṇ)* > B *\*kem*, A *\*kam*. The acc. *\*kuuon-ṇi* produced CT *\*kuwānā(ṇ)* and B *kwem* unproblematically. A *kom*, on the other hand, is a difficult and disputed form. As the underlying form must be CT *\*kuwānā(ṇ)* one might suggest that the sequence A *\*-uwa-* here resulted in A *-o-*, cf. the parallel outcome of *\*-uwa-* in CT *\*puwār* 'fire', possibly through lowering of *\*-uwa/ā-* to *\*-owa/ā-* and a contraction of *\*-owa/ā-* to *-o-*. A third suffixal ablaut grade is seen in the derived adj. B *kūñiye* 'canine', *q.v.*

B *ku-* 'to pour, pour out a libation' (pres. VIII [3sg.] *kušan-ne*, [ger.] *kušalle*, subj. I [1sg.] *kewu*, [3sg. med.] *kuṭār*, [abstr.] *kwālñe* (Š, verse), pret. III [ptc. abstr.] *kekuwer*, pret. Iaα [ptc. abstr.] *kuwer\**, caus. pret. II [3pl.] *kyauwar(e)*), A *ku-* 'id.' (pres. VIII [3sg.] *kuṣ* (sic, Couvreur 1955-56: 98), [impf. 3sg.] *kuṣā-m*, subj. VII [abstr.] (*k*)*uñlu(ne)* (Hilmarsson 1991b: 65 n.7), pret. III [3sg.] *śosā-m*). Couvreur (1947a: 78) correctly associated this verb with Skt. *juhōti* 'pours a libation', Gk. *χεῶ* 'I pour', etc., from the IE root *\*g<sup>h</sup>heu-* 'to pour'. The B and A pres. VIII stem reflects CT *\*kuṣā-/k<sup>w</sup>usā-* (with *-u-* on the analogy of the explicit *u*-vocalism of the other forms of the paradigm; this is the usual Tocharian procedure) for regular *\*k<sup>w</sup>āṣā-/k<sup>w</sup>āsā-* from (as if) IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>hu-s<sup>eb</sup>*. The A subj. VII is a regular correspondence of the B subj. I (cf. Hilmarsson 1991b for a discussion of this). For CT one

may reconstruct an athematic subj. I *\*kēwā-/kāwā-* (> *\*kūwā-*). The normal grade form is reflected in B 1sg. *kewu* (< *\*kāwām*), while B *kutār* from *\*kūwātār* is regular and B *kwālñe* from *\*kūwālñe* is a regular syncopated verse form. The subjunctive reflects an IE *ani-*stem perfect *\*(ǵhe-)ǵhou-/\*(ǵhe-)ǵhu-*. The coexistence of the abstract (pret. I) B *kuwer\** beside expected (pret. III) B *kekuwer* is unexplained, but presumably reflects an archaism. The palatalized causative pret. II B *kyauwar(e)* is secondary and presumably a late creation, while A non-caus. pret. III *śosā-m* appears to reflect an IE *ēu*-grade, for an *eu*-grade would have given *\*śusā-m*. See also B *kutk-* 'to embody' (A *kutk-*), A *koikum\** 'embodiment', B *kektseñe* 'body' (A *kaṣṣāñi*).

- B *kuk-* 'to tire, make an effort; exhaust' (subj. I [opt. 3sg.] *kūśi-ñ*, caus. subj. IX [abstr.] *kukāśālyñe* (sic), pret. II [ptc.] *śeśśuku\**). This verb is in the handbooks translated with 'to be formed, come into being'. Winter (1984: 212sq.), in a short but important discussion of this verb, suggests for the abstract *kukāśālyñe* the translation 'depression' (or some similar state of mind), while Thomas (1972: 469 n.1) translates this word with "Zwiespalt(?)". Winter (l.c.) suggests the ptc. *ś(e)śśuko(ś)* belongs with *kukāśālyñe*, but assumes wrongly that this participial form requires a causative present formation in initial palatal, and a non-causative nasal present. A palatal initial in the causative preterite II and its accompanying participle does not necessarily imply the pattern described by Winter, cf. the verb B *tuk-* 'to be hidden' that, in my opinion, is in every respect parallel to *kuk-*. As the caus. pret. II [1sg. med.] *caukamai* and the ptc. *ceccuku* are accompanied by the caus. pres. IX *tukāstrā*, so the caus. pret. II ptc. *śeśśuku\** is accompanied by a caus. pres. / subj. IX *kukāśā-* (abstr. *kukāśālyñe*). The parallelism goes further. B *tuk-* forms a non-caus. pres. II [1sg. med.] *cukemar*, and that present stem would be accompanied by a subj. I *\*taukā-/tūkā-* (cf. pres. II [3sg. med.] *ceṣṣtrā*, [1pl.] *ceñkem* and subj. I *tañktsi* 'to hinder'). Thus, B *kuk-* would have formed a present of class II and a subjunctive of class I. The latter is attested in the optative *kūśi-ñ*. It is thus clear that the forms posited in the paradigm lign-up at the beginning of this lemma can all belong together. The semantic side will then have to be scrutinized. As for the caus. subj. abstract *kukāśālyñe*, it is clear that it must designate some undesirable state of mind (Winter: 'depression', Thomas: 'doubt'). One might suggest the rendering 'exhaustion, tiredness; sluggishness', based on ptc. *śeśśuku\** 'exhausted'. This form occurs in the following passage:

82 Š a1 *kūce w[ān]taresa kekamoš takās ytarintse ś(e)śśuko(ś)* which (with Krause 1952: 179) one might translate: 'By what occasion have you (pl.) come, exhausted by the travel (lit. road)'. The line 284 MQ a6 *mentsi kukāśālyñe pālskontse ra trikalñe amiśkāññe špā pālwallē śle* would then mean: 'anxiety [and] exhaustion, and the mind's confusion and despondency, along with complaint', cf. also 569 MQ b2 *///(la)kl(=ami)śk(ñ)e kū(kā)śl(ñ)e* 'suffering, despondency, exhaustion'. The non-causative could be translated accordingly, viz. Lévi S 8 b2 *ršākeṃts lānte kreñcepi tsāñkā-ñ (palsko) klāwāssi lālyi wrotsai kūśi-ñ pele rekisa ...* 'The good king of the Seers' spirit will arise in me; may it lay down great effort to proclaim to me the Law through the word ...'. If one assumes that the meaning 'to tire, make an effort; exhaust' has developed from an original 'to bend, cower', one might associate B *kuk-* with IE *\*keu-k-* 'to bend, cower, crouch' (Adams unpubl.), cf. OIcel. *húka* 'to cower', *hokinn* 'bent (of the back)', *heykjask á* 'give up on something', etc. However, this cannot be considered certain. B *kuk-* reflects CT *\*kuk-* with *-u-* as the morphological replacement of expected *\*kāk-* < IE *\*kuk-*, while the *-śuk-* of the ptc. *śeśśuku\** reflects (as if) *\*keuk-*.

- B *kukene* (f. du. *hapax*), A *kukām* (gender unknown; *hapax*) 'heels?'. The interpretation of these two *hapax legomena* is wrought with difficulties. It is not even certain that their meaning is correctly given as 'heels', cf. B 92 Š b2 (*karsto*) *w(a)ṣtsi ausu samp wawākauwa kuke(ne)* 'this one is dressed in a torn garment, the *k.* separated', while A 212 b7 */// šuk kukām 4 koṣeññ oki wl(y)e(pe)* 'away *k.* 4 like soft *koṣe(-flowers)*' renders no sense at all. Formally, B *kukene\** and A *kukām* have been taken as corresponding dual forms (see most recently the discussion in Hilmarsson 1989b: 15 with lit.), but one would really have expected A *\*kukām* and not *kukām* as a match of B *kukene\**. In view of these difficulties, any etymological exploration is futile.
- B *kul\** (gender unknown) 'bell' is a *hapax* but the meaning is clear, cf. Sieg 1938: 43. It is only attested in the gen.sg. form *kulantse*. Theoretically, the nom.sg. could be *kul\** or *kwāl\**. Normally, one might have preferred the latter, but *kul\** seems appropriate here, cf. discussion below. Van Windekens' suggestion (1976: 240) that this word derives from the verb B(A) *ku-* 'to pour', and therefore means 'something that has been poured into a mold', is not particularly attractive. It would be semantically optimal to derive 'bell' from a root meaning 'to resound'. Such a verb actually exists in Tocharian, viz. B(A) *kāln-* 'to resound'. This verb

reflects CT *\*klän-*; if this is an original *n*-present formation, one might posit an IE *\*klu-n-*, cf. OE *hlynnan* 'to resound'. An original Tocharian subjunctive stem to such a nasal present would have been an athematic one of class I, reposing on IE *\*(ke-)kloy-* / *\*(ke-)klu-*. The normal grade would yield CT *\*klaw-*, but the zero grade would presumably have been reshaped to *\*klāw-*. This latter form would inevitably suffer metathesis (or rather a change of *Rä* through *Ṛ* to *äR*). It seems possible to me that the liquid at the intermediate stage *\*kḷw-* may have been sufficiently labialized to colour the anaptyctic vowel that arose in front of it, yielding *\*käwḷw-* > *\*kulw-*. It would be to this stem form that B *kul\** thereupon was formed, an *u*-stem (the stem-final *-w-* vocalized to *-u-*, becoming *-ä-*, and was thereupon lost in absolute final position). This explanation – or something along these lines – seems to me preferable to positing an IE *\*kḷ-ul-u-*, *vel sim.*, and an association with OIcel. *hyellr* 'resounding'. See also B *käln-* 'to resound' (A *käln-*), B *klene* 'sound', B *kleneṽ* 'resounding' (A *klano\**).

B *kḷenkarñeñ* is a *hapax* of unknown meaning: Dd 6/2 III *ramt ekamācemeṽ kḷenkarñeñ* III. Unclear. Possibly related to the equally unclear *hapax* B *klenkarññañe*, *q.v.* See also B *klenkaryā*, *klenkaryo* '(Skt.) rāsnā'.

A *kḷeñci* (adj.) 'female' is an adjective of class I. The suffix *-ñci* can be added to diverse nominal and verbal stems, cf. A *šmeñci* to *šme* 'raintime, summer', *atroñci* to *atār* 'hero', *ātlāñci* to *ātāl* 'man', *koṃ-pärkāñci* 'eastern', beside *koṃ-pärkāt* 'East', to *pärk-* 'to rise', etc. In the same manner, A *kḷeñci* is formed to *kḷe* (obl.sg.) 'woman'. A *-ñci* reflects earlier *\*-ñcyā* < CT *\*-ñciyā* and thus equals the West Tocharian present participle formation in *-ñca* < *\*-ñcyā* < CT *\*-ñciyā*. B *klaiññe* 'female' is a normal possessive adj. formed to the obl.sg. *klai(m)* 'woman'. See also B *klyiye*, *klyiye* 'woman' (A *kḷi*).

A *kḷiñās* '?' is a *hapax* of 406 b1 III *yokās kḷiñās* III. Unclear.

A *kulmāṃtsyo* '?' is the inst. (presumably singular) of a *hapax* noun of 12 b6 *tmāš štärt kulmāṃtsyo wār camā ešāk paṃpārs* (sic, for *papārs*) 'thereupon the fourth sprinkled water over it with *k*'. The handbooks' translation of *kulmāṃtsyo* with 'tube, reed, (Germ.) Röhre', *vel sim.*, is only speculation. The CT preform may have been *\*kwālmāntsæ*, but no etymological explanation is possible. See also A *kulmāss* '?'.

A *kulmāss* '?' appears to be a noun. It is attested twice in the same context: 251 b6 and 252 b6 *kulmās[s] or-e- šokyākāl tane māñcām [s]-i* III. Its meaning is quite unclear and so is its etymology. Possibly connected with A *kulmāṃtsyo* '?', *q.v.*

B *kulyp-* 'to crave, desire' (pres. III [ger.] *kulypelle*, *kwālypelle*), A *kulyp-* 'id.' (pres. III [3sg. med.] *kulypatār*, [ger.] *kulypal*, [vb. adj.] *kulypam*). Van Windekens (1976: 242) accepts Čop's suggestion (1958: 50) that this verb has a cognate in Av. *xrap-* 'to be (pre)occupied with, to be concerned with', reflecting IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>lep-*. The Avestan word is a *hapax* (Y 40.1) and its meaning is not entirely clear. This connection is therefore not as certain as one would like it to be. The Tocharian verb is of an unusual shape. An IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>lep-* would be expected to yield CT *\*k<sup>h</sup>lyāp-*. A chronological question then arises. What happened first: simplification of *k<sup>h</sup>* to *k* before a consonant, or metathesis of *Rä* through *Ṛ* to *äR*? If simplification was first, CT *\*k<sup>h</sup>lyāp-* through *\*klyāp-* would have resulted in BA *\*kālyp-*. The labial element could then perhaps have been reintroduced on the analogy of (unattested) zero grade forms of the verb, i.e. *\*kwālp-* < IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>lp-*. At first glance, the development seen in B *kāry-* 'to buy' would seem to confirm this; however, it is possible that *k-* has been generalized in this verb from (unattested) normal grade subjunctive and preterite forms, for A *kuryar* 'trade' indicates retention of the labial element. If, on the other hand, metathesis took place first and CT *\*k<sup>h</sup>lyāp-* changed into *\*k<sup>h</sup>ālyp-*, we would get the attested forms B *kulyp-/kwālyp-*, A *kulyp-* without a problem. The development in B *kāry-* would then be due to inner-paradigmatic analogy (note again A *kuryar*), while B *kārweñe* 'stone' from CT *\*k<sup>h</sup>ārweñæ* (< *\*k<sup>h</sup>rāweñæ*) would have lost the labial element through dissimilation. That is to say, B *kulyp-/kwālyp-*, A *kulyp-*, reflect CT *\*kwālyp-* < *\*k<sup>h</sup>ālyp-* < *\*k<sup>h</sup>lyāp-* that may represent IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>lep-* as found in Av. *xrap-*. Further connections of this root are unclear, however.

A *kulypam* 'desiring', verbal adj. to A *kulyp-*, see B *kulyp-* 'to crave, desire'.

A *kum* (m. sg.) 'wisp of (white) hair between the Buddha's eyebrows' is a designation of one of the Buddha's *lakṣaṇas*. It is attested for certain twice, while a third occurrence is possible, but the word division is uncertain: 142 b2 *kum [t]āñc* III. In the two certain occurrences, *kum* is qualified by *ārki* 'white', viz. 213 a7 *ārki kum pārwanam* 'the white wisp (between) the eyebrows', 292

b2 *ārki ciñcār kum* 'the white, sweet wisp'. Whatever its etymology, this word is certainly not a borrowing from Western Kamchatka as maintained by Van Windekens (1976: 628). Bearing in mind that the *kum* is white in colour, one might suggest a derivation from the IE root *\*k<sub>u</sub>ei-* 'to be bright, shine; white', cf. (with extension in *\*-d-*) Skt. *śvīdate* 'shines', Goth. *weits* 'white', OIcel. *hvítr* 'id.', etc.; (with extension in *\*-s-*) Lith. *šviesà* 'light', etc.; (extension in *\*-t-*) Skt. *śvetá-* 'white', *śvitrá-* 'id.', etc. A *kum* reflects CT *\*kwāmV-* (this might be *\*kwāmæ* or *\*kwāmā* but preferably an *n*-stem *\*kwāmo*) and could derive regularly from IE *\*k<sub>u</sub>id-mo-*, *\*k<sub>u</sub>id-meH<sub>2</sub>*, or preferably *\*k<sub>u</sub>id-mōn* 'the white (wisp)'. For the semantics, cf. Icel. *bles* 'a white spot on the forehead of horses' (< IE *\*bhles-* 'to shine, be bright'), regularly qualified by the adj. (n.) *hvítt* 'white', even though *bles* by itself means 'a white spot'. Thus *hvítt bles* semantically equals Toch. A *ārki kum*.

A *kumpāc* (m.) 'drum' is the obl.sg. of a noun of class V,2 (pl. *kumci*, obl. *kumcās*). The nom.sg. would also have the form *kumpāc*. Van Windekens (1941: 48) associated this word with Skt. *kumbhá-* 'pot', Gk. *κύβαλον* 'cymbalum', etc., to an IE *\*kumb-*, a nasalized version of *\*keu-b-* to *\*keu-* 'to be rounded, hollow'. He later gave that up in favour of a different and quite untenable hypothesis (1976: 242-243). Theoretically, *kumpāc* might reflect CT *\*kwāmpāc(c)æ* that in turn might go back to IE *\*k<sub>u</sub>mb-*, but the vocalization does not agree with the Sanskrit and Greek words mentioned above. In my opinion it is likelier that A *kumpāc* is a late derivative of A *kump* 'pot', a borrowing from Indic, cf. Skt. *kumbhá-* 'pot'.

A *kumtāñc* is a hapax of 142 b2 *kum[t]āñc* ///. The word division here is unclear and *kum* might belong with *kum* 'wisp of hair', q.v.

B *kuntsaññe*, see B *kwants\** 'firm; dear'.

A *k<sub>u</sub>ñās* (gender unknown) 'fight, conflict' is attested three times, always in the obl.sg., and its meaning is clear. It is probably a noun of class V,2 with *-(a)ś* reflecting either an *n*-stem *\*-nt-ēn*, *\*-k-ēn*, or a *ti*-stem *\*-s-t-ē(i)*. Van Windekens (1941: 48, 1966b: 538) suggested an etymological connection with IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>en-* 'to strike, slay, fight', which is credible, and derived *k<sub>u</sub>ñās* from *\*g<sup>h</sup>hn-ēnt-ī* (i.e. *\*-iH<sub>2</sub>*), which would not work, however, as this would yield either a final A *\*-nts* (cf. A *lānts* 'queen' < *\*-ntyā*) or

*\*-ñci* (cf. A *k<sub>u</sub>leñci* 'female' < *\*-ntiyæ*). Besides, initial *\*g<sup>h</sup>hn-ē-* would only yield *\*kñā-* and not *k<sub>u</sub>ñā-*. This latter detail might be saved by assuming a Lindeman-type vocalization *\*g<sup>h</sup>h<sub>u</sub>-ē-*, but that does not look promising in the face of Skt. *ghnānti* 'they slay'. If one wishes to keep this etymological connection, one might then prefer to derive A *k<sub>u</sub>ñās* through CT *\*kwāñiyæñcæ* from an (as if) IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>h<sub>u</sub>-io-nt-ēn*, an *n*-stem derivation from the present participle of a verb in *\*-iēb-*, cf. the independently formed Gk. *φθεῖνω* 'I slay', etc.

B *kuñiye* (adj.) 'canine, pertaining to dogs' is an adj. of class I,1, a hapax attested in P 1 b3 *kuñiye wemšsiye* 'dog excrement'. This form is important in that it necessitates positing a suffixal ablaut grade different from the ones (IE *\*-ō* and *\*-on-*) seen in the attested forms of the paradigms of B and A *ku* 'dog'. B *kuñiye* with its nasal cannot be formed directly to the nom.sg. B *ku*, nor can it be formed to the obl.sg. *kwem*. Rather, *kuñiye* must reflect CT *\*kwāñiyæ*, an adjectival formation to a stem *\*kwān-* from IE *\*k<sub>u</sub>ñ-*, or – what is probably preferable – since the Tocharian nom.sg. and obl.sg. both have a Lindeman's initial, B *kuñiye* reflects a CT stem *\*kuwān-* > *\*kuwn-* > *\*kun-* from an IE *\*k<sub>u</sub>ñ-*. See also B *ku* 'dog' (A *ku*).

A *k<sub>u</sub>pār\** (adj.) 'deep' is relatively well attested (obl.sg. masc. *k<sub>u</sub>parām*, obl.pl. fem. *k<sub>u</sub>param*) and the meaning is clear. It is also found as an adv. *k<sub>u</sub>pār* 'deep(ly)', and as a subst. (abl.sg.) *k<sub>u</sub>pārās* 'from the depth'. Generally, A *k<sub>u</sub>pār* is associated with Av. *gufra-* 'deep' (Van Windekens 1976: 243), but the details of that connection have not been satisfactorily explained. Van Windekens' derivation of Av. *gufra-* from *\*gupro-* and Toch. A *k<sub>u</sub>pār* from *\*gupōro-* is not inspiring. First, Av. *gufra-* is an isolated form in Avestan (and Iranian), and means not only 'deep' but also 'mysterious, wonderful'. Second, A *k<sub>u</sub>pār* cannot reflect IE *\*gup-* which would only have yielded A *\*kāp-*. The equation of these two words is therefore highly suspect and must be rejected as it stands. A *k<sub>u</sub>pār* reflects CT *\*kwāpāræ*, clearly an adjective in *\*-ro-*. It may be suggested that it should be etymologically connected with Skt. *gabhīrā-* 'deep', *gambhīrā-* 'id.', Av. *jafra-* 'deep', etc. These Indo-Iranian words are traditionally associated with Gk. *βάπτω* 'I submerge' and Gmc. *\*kweb-*, *\*kwaþ-* 'to submerge, suffocate' and derived from an IE root *\*g<sup>h</sup>ābh-* (in the terms of Pokorny 1959: 465-466), i.e. *\*g<sup>h</sup>eH<sub>2</sub>bh-*, whereby OIcel. *kvæfa* 'to suffocate' has been discounted as an ablaut innovation which it may well be. However, there are further forms in

Germanic that demand a root with no internal laryngeal, viz. Icel. *kvef* 'cold (i.e. 'the suffocating malady, that which prevents breathing')' from Gmc. *\*kweþa-*. I would therefore posit an IE root *\*g<sup>h</sup>ebh-*, which at some time formed a nasal present *\*g<sup>h</sup>mbh-*, the vestiges of which can be seen in Gk. *βάπτω* 'I submerge' (for the formation, cf. Gk. *θάπτω* 'I bury') and in the nasalized Skt. *gambhīrā-* 'deep', *gambha-*, *gāmbhan-*, *gambhāra-* 'depth', etc. More precisely, the root form was IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>ebh-H-* with a final laryngeal as seen in Skt. *gabhīrā-*. An adjective in *\*-ro-* to this root would be *\*g<sup>h</sup>bh-H-ró-*. Either independently in Proto-Tocharian and Proto-Indo-Iranian, or possibly already in (late) Indo-European, an anaptyctic vowel was inserted in the zero grade root, producing the preform (as if) IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>ebh-H-ró-* that yielded Skt. *gabhīrā-* on the one hand, and CT *\*kwāpāræ* on the other. Anaptyxis of this type regularly results in Toch. *-ā-*, cf. BA *kāt-* 'to scatter' < *\*(s)k<sub>2</sub>d-*. Av. *jafra-* 'deep' would equal Skt. *gabhīrā-*, except that Iranian has generalized the palatalized initial of the root. In this set-up the status of Av. *gufra-* 'deep' remains obscure, but it might be a cross between expected *\*gafra-* (= Skt. *gabhīrā-*) and a reflex of IE *\*dhubhra-* 'deep'.

- A *k<sub>2</sub>ras* (adj.) 'cold' serves as the suppletive nom.sg. masculine in a paradigm with forms of the stem *krośš-*, see B *krośce* 'cold' (A *krośšām* obl.sg. m.). The alleged nom.sg. A *kroś* 'cold' (Poucha 1955: 79, Hilmarsson 1986a: 38) does not exist: A *kroś* denotes a measure of length (Skt. *krośa-*). A *k<sub>2</sub>ras* occurs only once and its meaning is clear: 257 b2 *wu ñākcīñi wraṣiñi mol[k]a - (tärk?)rāṣ klār sas sāt wāt nu k<sub>2</sub>ras tāmyo bodhisattu wraṣi wram yatār* 'two divine water-m. (= drops?) fell from the cloud(?), one warm but the other cold. Therefore, the Bodhisattva performs the water-thing'. A *k<sub>2</sub>ras* cannot be cognate with B *krośce*, A *krośš-*, but its etymology remains obscure. Van Windekens suggests (1976: 245) a derivation from the IE root *\*g<sup>h</sup>her-* 'hot, warm' and a semantic development parallel to that seen in IE *\*kelH-* 'cold' and 'warm' (cf. such expressions as *burning cold*). While the semantic side seems defensible, his preform *\*g<sup>h</sup>hr-ont-i-* would only have led to CT *\*k<sup>r</sup>rāñcā* > A *\*kra(m)ś* with loss of the labial element. A root in final laryngeal would do the trick, however. IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>uerH-* 'to glow, be hot' (Skt. *jūrvati* 'burns, sings', *jūrñt-* 'glow', etc.) would provide a participial formation *\*g<sup>h</sup>urH-ont-* that in CT would appear in the form *\*kwārənt-*. While active present participle stems survive unextended in East Tocharian (their final *-nt* reflecting the old accusative singular form), in West Tocharian

they have been extended by suffixal (*\*-iH<sub>2</sub>* > CT *\*-iyā* >) B *\*-iyā*, i.e. *\*-nt-iH<sub>2</sub>* > *\*-ñciyā* > *\*-ñcyā* > B *\*-ñcā* > *-ñca*. Such stems, but in a different function, are also found in East Tocharian, namely the adjectives in A *-ñci* (< *\*-ñcyā* < CT *\*-ñciyā*) with apocope taking place before the assimilation of *-ñcy-* to *-ñc-*, cf. A *k<sub>2</sub>leñci* 'female'. Clearly, A *k<sub>2</sub>ras* cannot represent this formation. Rather, it can be seen as a participial stem plus an *n*-stem extension, i.e. *\*g<sup>h</sup>urH-ont-ən* > *\*kwārəñcā* > A *\*kwārəñc* > *\*kwāra(m)ś* > *k<sub>2</sub>ras* 'burning (cold)'. Another word that could show a similar conglomeration of suffixes is A *k<sub>2</sub>nas* 'fight', q.v.

B *kurp-*, see B *kwārp-* 'to attend to'.

- B *kus-* '?' (pres. VI [impf. 3pl. med.] *kusnontrā*) is a *hapax* of unknown meaning, found in the fragment 387 S frgm.4 III(i) *prerne kusnontrā* III. Adams (unpubl.) tentatively suggests here the meaning 'they were shooting in the air', which he cogently connects with the IE root *\*g<sup>h</sup>heu-s-* 'to gush, spray', cf. OIcel. *gjósa* 'to gush, spout, erupt', etc. Being an *n*-present, B *kusnā-* would have regularly replaced the expected zero grade *-ā-* with *-u-*. Only further occurrences of this verb can confirm whether Adams' suggestion is sustainable. On the other hand, *kusnontrā* might well belong with the verb B *kwäs-* 'to wail', for which a present VI is attested (3sg. med. *kwāsnātrā*). In a closed unaccented syllable *kwā-* is frequently reduced to *ku-*. At least once, B *kwäs-* is used to denote the wailing or crying out of the sea-eagle (*kurār luwo*); the occurrence of *kusnontrā* with *iprerne* 'in the air' might warrant a translation here with '(they [scil. the sea-eagles]) were wailing in the air'. See B *kwäs-* 'to wail'.

- B *k<sub>2</sub>sār* '?' is a *hapax* of H 150. 104 a4 III *k<sub>2</sub>sār sā snai kešo i[t]e*. Broomhead (1962b: 107) suggests a connection with A *ksār* 'in the morning'. That is quite hypothetical, and phonologically the two forms do not match. B *k<sub>2</sub>sār* reflects CT *\*kwāsār*, but A *ksār* has no sign of the labial element. Perhaps rather connected to the equally enigmatic A *k<sub>2</sub>sār\**, q.v.

- A *k<sub>2</sub>sār\** '?' is a *hapax* of 378 2 : *tseñ sākwis kusram tmaśśāl tāskmām tñi sālyi pā(ci)* 'in the k. of the blue hair, your left [and] right [are] comparable to it(?)'. Unfortunately unclear. Might fit formally with the *hapax* B *k<sub>2</sub>sār* '?' (q.v.), in which case both words would reflect CT *\*kwāsārā*.

B *k<sub>u</sub>se* (interrog. & rel. pron.), A *kus* (interrog. pron.) 'who', with the obl.sg. B *k<sub>u</sub>ce*, A *kuc*, gen.sg. B *kete* and *ket*, A *ke*. Note A *k<sub>u</sub>sak* with enclitic. In West Tocharian *k<sub>u</sub>se* and *k<sub>u</sub>ce* sometimes drop their initial *k<sub>u</sub>-*, cf. the same phenomenon in the gerundive forms *k<sub>u</sub>calle* and *calle* to the verb B *kwät-* 'to turn one's attention to'. As a relative pronoun East Tocharian uses an extended *kusne*, obl.sg. *kucne*, gen.sg. *kene*, with a specific nom.pl. *k<sub>u</sub>cene*. B *k<sub>u</sub>ce* is also used as a conjunction in the meaning '(causal) because; (explicative) so that', matched by A *kucne*. As already recognized by Sieg & Siegling (1908: 927), B *k<sub>u</sub>se* and A *kus* are cognates of Lat. *quis* 'who', etc., and reflect a conflation of some forms of the two IE pronominal stems *\*k<sub>u</sub>i-/k<sub>u</sub>o-* 'who' and *\*so-* 'this'. While the second element unequivocally represents IE *\*so-*, there has been disagreement concerning the first element. Van Windekens (1976: 246) accepts the widely held opinion (going back to Meillet) that it reflects IE *\*k<sub>u</sub>u-*, an otherwise mostly adverbial stem variant of the IE interrogative pronoun, found, apparently, in Alb. *kush* 'who'. I fail to see, however, why there should be a particular isogloss here, joining Tocharian and Albanian. It seems far likelier that the Albanian form is an Albanian innovation, which, of course, does not exclude the possibility that Tocharian may have innovated in a parallel manner, but independently. However, if there is no direct historical relationship between the Albanian and the Tocharian forms, and since IE *\*k<sub>u</sub>u-* after all is an adverbial stem, I find it much more plausible that B *k<sub>u</sub>se* and A *kus* represent the expected IE interrogative *\*k<sub>u</sub>is*, as originally proposed by Petersen (1938: 80, 90, n.23), cf. also Pedersen (1941: 121), and the discussion in Hilmarsson 1987: 40sq. This solution is, of course, enhanced by the fact that the development from IE *\*k<sub>u</sub>is* + *\*só* to CT *\*kwässä* > *\*kwäsä* > B *k<sub>u</sub>se*, A *kus*, is phonologically quite regular. An IE *\*-i-* did not cause palatalization of a preceding tectal or *-w-* in Tocharian, cf. B *kwät-* 'to turn one's attention to' < IE *\*k<sub>u</sub>it-*, B *skiyo* 'shadow' < IE *\*skih<sub>2</sub>-ōn* or *\*skij<sub>2</sub>-eH<sub>2</sub>*, B *wase*, A *wäs* 'poison' < IE *\*uisó-m*, etc. The second syllable accentuation shown by B *k<sub>u</sub>se* does not harmonize with the regular pattern of West Tocharian, which would have demanded retraction in a disyllabic form; however, some pronominal forms are exceptions to the retraction rule, cf. B *mäksu* 'who, which'. In the obl. B *k<sub>u</sub>ce*, A *kuc*, the element B *-ce*, A *-c*, is palatalized as is the oblique of B *se*, A *säs*; the reasons for this palatalization are unclear, but it seems to have a morphological function in pronominal and adjectival stems. The simplification of CT *\*kwässä* to *\*kwäsä* would be regular; however, it

is possible – and even likely – that the conflation of the two pronominal stems into one word did not take place until at least after final *-s* had been lost. In the genitive, East and West Tocharian show divergent forms. B *ket* is a shortened form of *kete*, cf. B *ompe* 'there' beside shortened *omp* 'id.'. B *kete* reflects CT *\*k<sub>u</sub>ætæ* and represents an IE adjectival *\*k<sub>u</sub>o-to-s* 'pertaining to whom', cf. OIcel. *hvadan* 'whence', ModIcel. *hvada* (indecl. interrog. pron.) 'who', based on a Gmc. *\*hwaþa-*, see Hilmarsson 1987: 41. For B *ketara*, *ketra*, see under B *ksa* 'some, any'. The gen.sg. A *ke*, through *\*kay* < *\*kaya* from CT *\*k<sub>u</sub>āyæ*, reflects a different adjectival formation, namely IE *\*k<sub>u</sub>o-iH<sub>2</sub>o-s*, for which cf. the Latin gen.sg. *cuius* 'whose', and the Greek adjectival *ποῖος* 'of what nature' (this analysis is based on an original idea of Lane 1960: 76, followed by Van Windekens 1976: 246; for a discussion, see Hilmarsson 1989b: 26sq., although I have now given up the idea of contractions in any of the Tocharian forms involved). See also B *kā* 'why', B *katu* 'for, namely', B *kātsi* 'why then', B *kos* 'how much' (A *kos*), B *ksa* 'some(body)', B *k<sub>u</sub>tamem* 'from where', A *k<sub>u</sub>yal* 'why', B *kwri* 'if' (A *kupre*) [B *mäksu* 'who']].

- A *kuswam* is the loc.sg. of a designation of a metre (4x12 syllables). The nom.sg. was probably *k<sub>u</sub>su*, reflecting CT *\*kwässwæ*. Unclear. See also A *koṃswam* (name of a metre, 4x12 syllables).
- B *k<sub>u</sub>sāne\** (prob. m.) 'name of a measure of weight, name of a monetary unit' is a noun of class V,1 (pl. *k<sub>u</sub>sāni*, obl. *k<sub>u</sub>sānem*). B *k<sub>u</sub>sānār* 'by *k<sub>u</sub>sānas*' is a distributive adverb. Etymology unclear; possibly a loanword.
- B *k<sub>u</sub>šiye\** (f.), A *ṣukṣa-* (f.) 'village' is in West Tocharian a noun of class VI,2 (obl. *kwaṣai*, nom.pl. *k<sub>u</sub>ṣaiñ*, obl. *k<sub>u</sub>ṣaim*). The initial *k<sub>u</sub>ṣ-* is occasionally written *kuṣ-* or *kwṣ-*; also once *-ṣṣ-* for *-ṣ-*. Endocentric adj. B *k<sub>u</sub>ṣaiṣṣe* 'pertaining to a village'. In East Tocharian, only the loc.sg. *ṣukṣam* (*sūkṣam*) and the abl.sg. *ṣukṣaṣ* are attested, possibly indicating a nom./obl.sg. *ṣukāṣ\**. Formed to this stem is the possessive adj. A *ṣukṣem\** 'of the village' (< *\*ṣukṣaṭñña* < *\*ṣukṣañña*). For previous etymological attempts, none of which can be termed illuminating, see Van Windekens (1976: 464-465). It is, of course, not certain that B *k<sub>u</sub>šiye\** and A *ṣukṣa-* are cognate. However, as a methodological principle it is advisable to assume that they are. If so, the first question to dispose of is that of the different onset of these words. It seems perfectly possible that West Tocharian may have lost an initial *ṣ-* by

dissimilation vis-à-vis the internal *-s-*, whereas it is unlikely that the initial *s-* of A *šukša-* has been created out of nothing. An underlying initial *s-* will therefore be assumed. The following etymology may then be proposed. An IE *s*-stem *\*ueik-os* 'village, settlement' is indicated by Goth. *weihs* 'village' (gen.sg. *weihsis*), and probably presupposed by Lat. *villa* 'estate' (< *\*ueik-s-(t)leH₂*). If one posits an (as if) IE *\*sue-yik-s-ēn* 'one's own village', this form would yield CT *\*šawākš-æ* (IE *\*-μ-* is regularly lost after an initial sibilant in Tocharian, cf. Hilmarsson 1991a: 129, and IE *\*-i-* does not palatalize preceding *\*-μ-*). CT *\*šawākš-æ* would result in A *šukša-* regularly. In West Tocharian matters are more complicated. First, there is the regular and expected CT change of *\*šawākš-æ* to *\*šawkšæ* (the immediate preform of A *šukša-*) through loss of *\*-ä-* after a resonant. This form then, was also the immediate preform of West Tocharian *\*šawkše* of class VI,1. In this class the ending (IE *\*-ēn* that ought to have been continued simply as B *-e*) was for some reason realized as *-iye*; for a detailed discussion of this, see Hilmarsson 1986a: 217sq. (= 1987[89]a: 34sq.). Many original class VI,1 nouns were thereupon transferred to class VI,2, cf. again my work cited. In the flow of these morphological rearrangements, original B *\*šawkše* thus was changed to *\*šawkšiye*. The cluster suffered anaptyxis to *\*šawkäšiye*. It is only at this point that one would have to accept something irregular, namely, metathesis of *-wk-* to *-kw-*. Instead of metathesis, one might assume that *-w-* caused a labialization of the *-k-* which was given expression in the form *-kw-*. Thus, one arrives at the form B *\*šawkäšiye* > *\*škwäšiye* that through dissimilation gave *\*kwäšiye* > *käšiye* with obl.sg. *kwašai*.

A *kušt* (gender unknown) is a designation of some carnivorous animal. It is attested twice compounded with *lu* 'animal', i.e. *kušt-lu*, pl. *kušt-lwākā*. The CT preform was presumably *\*kwäst(V)*, but no etymological explanation seems possible.

B *kut-* '(Germ.) abwenden?', see B *kwät-* 'to turn one's attention to'.

B *kütameṃ* (interrog. adv.) 'from where' shows the ablative marker *-meṃ* added to B *kütä-* from CT *\*kwätä-*. Once erroneously *kütameṃ*. This stem form is otherwise not attested in Tocharian. It can be interpreted in two different ways. Both imply that we have here a conflation of two pronominal stems as in B *käse* 'who', obl. *käce*. The first alternative may be argued as follows. The ablative marker is always added to an oblique stem; if formed to *käce*, one might have expected *\*käkemeṃ*, or possibly *\*kütameṃ* if the

ablative marker was added before the introduction of a palatalized stem in the pronoun. The *\*-tä-* of *\*kwätä-* might then bear witness to an alternative development of IE *\*to-* to CT *\*tä-* instead of *\*tæ-*; such a development has parallels in the pronominal system (A *säs*, *täs*, etc., and in the nom.pl. ending B *-i* < IE *\*-oi*). By this interpretation, B *kütameṃ* < CT *\*kwätä-meṃ* would reflect IE *\*k'id + \*tod* (conflation after the loss of final *\*-d*). The second alternative would be as follows. The second element of CT *\*kwätä-* may reflect an IE ablative *\*tōd* that in Tocharian would presumably have resulted in *\*tu* > *\*tä*, cf. B *okt* 'eight' ~ *oktase* 'pertaining to eight' < *\*oktä-* < *\*æktu* < *\*(H)oktō*. It is then unlikely that the first element *\*kwä-* reflects an inflected form; it would simply be the generalized masculine or neuter *\*kwä* < IE *\*k'is/\*k'id*. However, *\*kwä-* could also reflect earlier *\*k'u* from *\*k'ōd*. That is, *\*k'ōd + tōd*, through *\*k'u + \*tu* > CT *\*kwätä*, would presumably also yield B *kütameṃ*. See also B *kā* 'why', B *katu* 'for, namely', B *kättsi* 'why then', B *käse* 'who' (A *kus*), B *kos* 'how much' (A *kos*), B *ksa* 'some(body)', A *käyal* 'why', B *kwri* 'if' (A *kupre*) [[B *mäksu* 'who']].

B *küte* is a hapax of 251 Š a4 *küte nno špä kärtse wešseñcantse*. It is presumably an error for *käce*, so Sieg & Siegling 1953: 151 n.8 with a question mark.

B *kutk-* 'to embody, incarnate' (pres. VII [ptc. med.] *kutänkmane*, pret. Iaß [Ipl.] *šutkām*, [ptc.] *kutkau* (Thomas & Krause 1964: 184), caus. pret. II [ptc.] *šešutku*), A *kutk-* 'id.' (pret. Ia [3sg. med.] *kutkat* (sic, for *kutkāt\**), [ptc.] *kutkau*). The preterite form B *šutkām* is not secondary (Van Windekens 1976: 247), but regularly reflects an earlier (IE) *eu*-grade form. B and A *kutk-* come from CT *\*kutk-*, with *-u-* as a morphological zero grade representing earlier *\*kāt-* < PT *\*kāt-sk-*; the underlying root is IE *\*ǵhud-* 'to pour', cf. Lat. *fundō* 'I pour', with a development in Tocharian to 'cast in a mold, form'. Etymology by Melchert 1977: 125. See also A *kotkum\** 'embodiment', B *kektseñe* 'body' (A *kapsaṇi*), B *ku-* 'to pour' (A *ku-*).

B *kuts-* '(Germ.) verklagen?', see B *kwät-* 'to turn one's attention to'.

B *kutspaneṃ* '?' is a hapax of 303 c III *k[u]tspaneṃ po trai III*. It is quite unclear; any number of letters might be missing at the beginning of the word.



B *kuva*, see B *kūwo* '?'.

B *kūwo* is a *hapax* of unknown meaning found in 133 MQR b1 /// *šāp no kūw[o] s-m no 22 pr(o)sko ste waikesse[p](i) nr(ai) pr(et) ///*. It is conceivably to be linked up with another *hapax*, B *kuva* of 584 Š a7/// *ef[ñ](c)[a]re kuva ///*, also of unknown meaning. B *kuva* could stand for *kuwa* (the manuscript has many instances of *v* for *w*) and might be an obl.sg. to *kūwo*. Any etymological speculation is, of course, futile at present.

A *kūyal* (interrog. adv.) 'why' is most frequently written thus (some 40 times); before vowel there are five cases of *kūyall* (actually always before the particle *aśsi*); furthermore, there are five instances of a fully shortened *kyal*. The conjunction A *kūyalte* 'because' shows an extension with *-te*, an interrogative particle [(q.v.)]. The variant *kyalte*, a shortened form, occurs a few times; a single *kūyalte* is surely an error. As seen by Sieg & Siegling & Schulze 1931: 187, the second element of A *kūyal* is the gerundive *yal* to the suppletive present stem *ya-* of A *yām-* 'to do'. The first element *kū-* reflects CT *\*kwā-*, the interrogative pronominal stem. While the form here could be the abstracted generalized stem form of the interrogative pronoun *kus* 'who', obl. *kuc*, it is not unlikely that *kū-* of *kūyal* actually reflects a neuter form, ultimately from IE *\*k<sup>u</sup>id*. See also B *kā* 'why', B *katu* 'for, namely', B *kātsi* 'why then', B *kūse* 'who' (A *kus*), B *kos* 'how much' (A *kos*), B *ksa* 'some(body)', B *kūtameṃ* 'from where', B *kwri* 'if' (A *kupre*) [[B *māksu* 'who']].

B *kwā-* 'to call, invite' [with a suppletive but cognate subj. and pret. stem *kākā-*] (pres. V [3sg. med.] *kwātār-ne*, [3pl. med.] *kwāntrā*, [impf. 3sg. med.] *kwōytār-ne*, [ptc. med.] *kwāmane*, subj. V [3sg. med.] *kākatār*, [opt. 1sg. med.] *kākoyma(r)*, [inf.] *kākatsi*, [priv.] *akākatte*, [imp. 2sg.] *pokkāka*, pret. 1bβ [3sg. med.] *kakāte*, [ptc.] *kakākau*), A *kākā-* 'id.' [forms a suppletive paradigm with *ken-*] (subj. V [abstr.] *kāklune\**, [imp. 2pl.] *pūkāks-ām*, pret. I [3sg.] *kāk*, [ptc.] *kākku*). The stems *kwā-* and *kākā-* are cognate, and differ in principle only in that *kākā-* has been extended by a tectal of whatever origin, cf. the parallel extension seen in BA *tākā-* 'to be' (< *\*(s)H<sub>2</sub>-K-*) or B *kālāk-* 'to follow', A *kalk-likālk-* 'to go' (< *\*k<sup>u</sup>olH<sub>2</sub>-K-*), etc. Etymologically, this verb has been correctly associated with Skt. *hāvate* 'calls' to the IE root *\*ǵhuH-* 'to call' (originally Van Windekens 1941: 29, 1949: 301), but most details have been insufficiently understood. All forms are perfectly regular within the following framework. The basic root is an

athematic *\*ǵhuH-* (cf. K.T. Schmidt 1982: 365; also Normier 1980: 269, Lindeman 1987: 300sq.). As shown by K.T. Schmidt (o.c.), a *\*H<sub>2</sub>* or *\*H<sub>3</sub>* in this position, if followed by a consonant, results in a Toch. *\*ā*. Extended by a tectal (and with a further *set-* root extension), as if *\*ǵhuH-K-H-*, this root therefore produced PT *\*kwākā-* > CT *\*k<sup>u</sup>ākā-* regularly, and this stem – or rather stems: subj. V *\*k<sup>u</sup>ākā-* and pret. I *\*k<sup>u</sup>ākā-* – gave the attested East and West Tocharian subj. and pret. forms. The West Tocharian present stem (in A the corresponding stem is lost), however, was not extended by a tectal. One might then have expected *\*ǵhuH-*, through PT *\*kwā-*, to have yielded *\*kā-*. Clearly, this did not happen, and for the following reason. Monosyllabic athematic verbal stems do not exist in Tocharian. If Tocharian inherited such stems, they were extended by an anaptyctic *\*-ā-*, if they ended in a consonant, while stems of the type *\*CRV-* received interconsonantal anaptyxis and got the structure *\*CāRV-* (cf., e.g., B *śuwat* (M) ~ *śwām-ne* (Š)). The PT *\*kwā-*, therefore, became CT *\*kāwā-* > *\*kuwā-*, and this is the stem that produced B pres. *kwātār*, *kwāmane*, etc. (note the accentuation). – The privative B *akākatte* is formed to the subj. V stem *kākā-*, whose accentuation accounts for the loss of the prefixal nasal of the privative. In the imperatives B *pokkāka*, A *pūkāks-ām*, the imp. marker *pā-* has been rounded, due to the labial environment *p-k<sup>u</sup>*, cf. B *kokale*, A *kukāl* 'wagon' < CT *\*kwāk<sup>u</sup>*-. The past ptc. A *kākku* from *\*kākāku* < *\*kākāku* corresponds regularly to B *kakākau*. See also B *kāko* 'invitation'.

B *kwāl-* 'to turn, recede, fail' (pres. III [3sg. med.] *kūletār*, subj. V [3sg. med.] *kūlātār-me*, pret. 1aβ [3sg.] *kūlā-ne*), A *kwāl-* 'id.' (pres. III [3sg. med.] *kulatār*, subj. V [opt. 3sg.] *kuli(s)*). The formation of present class III is unclear, but one may posit a CT *\*kwālā-*, while the subj. V reflects CT *\*kwālā-*, accented thus at least in the middle; the subjunctive-based privative B *ekwalatte\** < CT *\*ænkwalāttæ*, suggests an active stem CT *\*kwālā-* (cf. Hilmarsson 1991a: 64sq.). Assuming a semantic development from 'to turn, move about' to 'to turn, turn back, recede', CT *\*kwālā-* may be derived from IE *\*k<sup>u</sup>l-H-* 'to turn, move about', cf. Gk. *πελω* 'I move about', Skt. *cārati* 'moves'. Etymology originally Meillet 1911b: 460. Discussion in Hilmarsson (l.c.). Differently, Jasanoff 1978: 39-40 (to Lith. *gulėti* 'to lie down'). See also B *kokale* (A *kukāl*) 'wagon', B *kokalpānta* 'charioteer', B *kokalyiskam* 'small wagons', B *kele* 'navel'.

B *kwamo*\* (m. sg.), name of a metre of 4×14 syllables. A possible East Tocharian match is A *kuma*-, the onset of a word also designating a metre of 4×14 syllables (2 b1-2). B *kwamo*\* is attested a few times in the loc.sg. form *kwamane* (582 M b1, PK AS 16 2 a6, etc.). It is usually preceded by the adjectival *śawaññe* and is therefore ascertainably masculine (in the singular). The locative marker *-ne* does not affect the accentuation; therefore B *kwama-ne* must reflect an underlying *\*kwāmā-ne* (pace Pinault 1989b: 192) to an obl.sg. *\*kwāmā* to a nom.sg. *\*kwāmo*. This indicates flectional class VI,3b, where most words are feminines, but at least B *kantwo* of that class is masculine. The CT preform was thus *\*kwāmā* (obl.sg. *\*kwāmā*); an onset with *\*kuw-* is also possible theoretically. Pinault (*l.c.*) is probably right in seeing in the adj. B *śawaññe* a cognate of A *śāwe* (nom.pl.) 'great'. Thus *śawaññe kwamane* means 'in great k.'. Any etymological explanation of B *kwamo*\* (together with A *kuma*-?) is necessarily speculative. However, the initial CT *\*kwām-* can only indicate IE *\*K<sup>u</sup>mH-* or *\*K<sup>u</sup>im-* (resp. *\*K<sup>u</sup>mH-* or *\*K<sup>u</sup>im-*). This leads one to think of Gk. *τίμη* 'honour, respect' (with secondarily long root vowel) from IE *\*k<sup>u</sup>im-eH<sub>2</sub>*, which would regularly produce CT *\*kwāmā* > B *kwamo*\*. Uncertain.

B *kwants*\* (adv.) 'dearly, fully' is attested only once as an uncompounded form. The handbooks, following Sieg & Sieglings' text-edition, cite the form as *kwāts*, but as it is extremely likely that this word is identical with B *kwāntsa-* (see immediately below), it is clear that the vowel must be *-a-* and not *-ā-*. A nasal is occasionally lost (or not written) before a following *-ts-*. The context of *kwats* is as follows: 337 Š b3 *k<sub>u</sub>se śamāne karyor pito yamastrā olañk kārñāstrā kwats plañkšām pārkañw(t)se pelkim* 'A monk who undertakes buying [and] selling, [and] buys cheaply [but] sells dearly (lit. 'compactly') for the sake of gaining ...'. The meaning 'dearly' can be seen as an aspect of 'compactly, in full', *vel sim.*, so that *kwats* may – as tradition has it – be seen as the same word as *kwāntsa-*. This latter form is found in the compound *kwāntsa-pālsko* 'firm spirit, solid thought', attested twice in 245 MQR a4 and b5. Furthermore, there is a derived abstract noun *kwāntsaññe* 'firmness' of neuter class III,1, attested some five times (once 386 S a4 in the form *kuntsaññe*), which, in turn, has generated an endocentric adj. *kwāntsaññesse* 'pertaining to firmness'. Etymologically, this word has often been associated with A *kāsu* 'good' (Van Windekens 1976: 196 with lit., Toporov 1987), but that is phonologically impossible; e.g., A *kāsu* shows no trace

of the nasal of B *kwants*\*, and the vocalism is not the same. The traditional connection with the IE root *\*keu-H-* 'to swell' is somewhat difficult. This is a *set*-root, presumably with *\*-H<sub>2</sub>-* (cf. Gk. (Dor.) *πάσασθαι* 'to have power over'): an IE *\*kuH<sub>2</sub>-ṇ-sV-*, through *\*kuṇṇsV-*, would yield CT *\*kuwānsV-* > B *kwān(t)s-* (a differently vocalized IE *\*kuH<sub>2</sub>-n-sV-* would yield B *\*kān(t)s-*), but what that preform would be in terms of Indo-European morphology is unclear. An *anif*-form *\*ku-n-sV-* would give B *\*kān(t)s-*, not *kwān(t)s-*. It would be better to start with an *nt*-formation *\*kuH<sub>2</sub>-nt-*. Then one might, say, through an acc.sg. *\*kuwānt-ā(m)*, get B *\*kwāntā-* and *-ts-* might then possibly be due to the palatalizing effect of some adverbial ending. In my opinion, however, Van Windekens' earlier association (1962a: 181) with Gk. *εὐθενής* 'abundant, in full richness' is more satisfactory. We have here the IE root *\*g<sup>h</sup>hen-* 'to swell, be filled to the brim', cf. Skt. *ghaná-* 'thick, compact', Lith. *ganā* 'enough', etc. In particular, there is abundant evidence in Greek for an *s*-stem; thus, beside *εὐθενής*, there is *εὐθενέω* 'I flourish', *εὐθέχεια* 'richness, abundant fullness', *ἄ-φρος* (n.) 'richness, abundance', etc. B *kwānts*\* could then be seen as an original compound form (*kwāntsa-pālsko*) that only secondarily came to be used as an adverb in free use (note that it occurs so only once, although, given the small amount of texts, that may be accidental). If not, one might assume that a lost adverbial ending has been added to the original *s*-stem to yield the adv. *kwants*\*. That is to say, the compound form *kwāntsa-* is original; a zero grade compound-form *s*-stem IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>h<sub>s</sub>-* 'fullness, compactness' produced CT *\*kwāns-* that received an anaptyctic *-ā-*, as did all monosyllabic stem forms, and became *\*kwānsā-*, with compound accentuation. This form yielded B *kwāntsa-*\* regularly, as seen in *kwāntsa-pālsko* and in the derived *kwāntsaññe* (with *kuntsaññe* showing the frequent reduction of *-wā-* to *-u-* in unaccented position).

B *kwār-* 'to grow old, weak, decrepit' (pres. III [3pl. med.] *kwreñntār* (< *\*kwāré-*), pret I [ptc.] *kuro* [MQ for *\*kurai*]), A *kwār-* 'id.' (pret. I [ptc.] *kuro*, caus. pres. VIII [3pl. med.] *kur-samñtār*, pret. [ptc.] *kakuru*). From CT *\*kwār-* with regular syncope in an open unaccented syllable in B (*kur-* is the vocalized alternant of *kwār-*), while CT *\*kwā-* yields *ku-/k<sub>u</sub>-* in A. Based on CT *\*kwār-*, reflecting a zero grade *\*g<sup>h</sup>h<sub>r</sub>-*, with simplified initial cluster in the position before a syllabic resonant, from IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>hdh<sub>r</sub>-/\*dhg<sup>h</sup>h<sub>r</sub>-* 'to flow away, wane, grow weak, grow old, perish', cf. Skt. *kṣārati* 'flows, melts away, perishes', Gk. *φθείρω*

'I corrupt, waste, destroy', etc. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1986a: 252-262, 1986c: 87-98. Differently Van Windekens 1976: 244 with lit. See also B *kwaräs* (m. obl.sg.) 'stools', A *kwreyunt* 'growth, fruits' [B *oñkrocce*, A *oñkrac* 'immortal', A *oñkraci* 'immortality']].

B *kwaräs* (m. obl.sg. [hapax]) 'stools, faeces, (Skt.) jīrṇa'. Presumably to a nom.sg. *kwarše\** of noun class V,2, derived from an unattested but ascertainable causative present VIII stem B *kwāršā-*. Calqued to the verbal root B *kwār-* 'to grow old, decrepit' (q.v.), the Tocharian translation of Skt. *√jṛ*, on the model of Skt. *jīrṇa-* 'digestion, digested food, stools'. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991c: 174sq. See also A *kwreyunt* 'growth, fruits' [B *oñkrocce*, A *oñkrac* 'immortal', A *oñkraci* 'immortality']].

B *kwarem* '?' is a hapax of H add. 149. 77 a1 /// · ts · *kwarem* *skr[e]///*. The broken *skre-* is presumably a form of *skrem* '(prob.) dove, pigeon', but *kwarem* is unfortunately inscrutable.

B *kwärp-* 'to attend to, be concerned about' (pres. III [ger.] *kurpelle*). Attested several times, but only in the gerundive; once written *kurwelye*. There is no connection with A *šur-* 'to worry' as maintained by Van Windekens 1976: 245, nor is his association with Russ. *žurba* 'concern' a viable etymology. Lane (1960: 78) correctly saw cognates in Goth. *hvaírban* 'walk about', Olcel. *hverfa* 'turn, disappear', *horfa* 'turn, look', etc. to the IE root *\*k<sub>u</sub>erp-* 'to turn'. The semantic development seen in the Tocharian verb is trivial: 'turn' → 'turn to something' → 'attend to', 'be concerned about'. B *kurpe-* reflects CT *\*kwärp-ā-* (with regular development of unaccented *kwä-* in a closed syllable) from IE *\*k<sub>u</sub>rp-*, a zero grade beside the *o*-grade of B and A *kärp-* 'to descend', q.v., and A *korpā* 'turned towards, against', q.v. See also A *kärme* 'right; upright'.

B *kwarsär* (m. sg.), A *kursär* (m. sg.) 'league, mile, (Skt.) yojana-; vehicle, means of salvation, (Skt.) prayojana-' is a noun of class I,2 (presumably a neuter) in both languages (B pl. *kursarwa*, *kwärsarwa*, A *kursärwā*, *kurtsru*). A pl. *kurtsru* (with -*t*-epenthesis) shows the expected apocope of the final -*ā* which in *kursärwā* has been restored. B *kurs-* is simply a reduction of the unaccented *kwär-*, showing facultative spelling in a closed syllable. As originally suggested by Van Windekens (1941: 49), these words can be associated with Lat. *currere* 'to run', *currus* 'wagon', *cursus* 'course', etc. However, the traditional reconstruction of the

underlying IE root as *\*kers-* is invalidated by the Tocharian forms that definitely require an initial labiovelar. The forms listed under this root by Pokorny (1959: 583) are somewhat heterogeneous. The forms responsible for positing a palatal velar are the Hesychian gloss *σάρσαι ἁμαξαι* and Lat. *sarrācum* 'a foreign wagon', both supposedly from Illyrian *\*sarsa*. Clearly, this evidence may be safely discounted. For the rest, Gk. *ἐπὶ-κουρος* 'hasting forth to assist' can have dissimilated the tectal (*p ~ k<sup>h</sup> > p ~ k*), while Lat. *currere*, *currus*, *cursus*, of course, may simply reflect *\*k<sub>u</sub>rs-*. MHG *hurren* 'to hurry' could also regularly reflect a labiovelar. Only the Celtic forms are problematic. However, OIr. *carr*, MW *carr*, Bret. *karr* 'wagon, vehicle' may all be loanwords from the latinized *carrus* or its source, Gallo-Roman *carros*. Thus, what must be weighed, is the evidence of the Gallo-Roman form as against that of the Tocharian forms. To my mind, the former cannot outbalance the latter. For all we know, Gallo-Roman *carros* (for expected *\*parros*) may have been influenced by Lat. *currus*, whereas there is no way that the Tocharian forms could reflect anything but a labiovelar (see the short discussion by Rasmussen 1988: 180-181). For B *kwarsär* and A *kursär* one might therefore reconstruct CT *\*kwärsär*. In view of the plural in B -*wa*, A -*u* (secondarily -*wā*) < CT *\*-wā*, it is possible that this preform reflects an earlier *\*kwärsrā* (through regular metathesis of *Rā* to *är*) from *\*kwärsru* (an *u*-stem). Assuming that stems in final IE *\*-ur* were regularly (or frequently?) metathesized to *\*-ru*, CT *\*kwärsru* could reflect an IE *\*k<sub>u</sub>rs-ru* < *\*k<sub>u</sub>rs-ur*.

B *kwäs-* 'to wail, cry out mournfully, lament' (pres. VI [3sg. med.] *kwäsnaṭrā*, [ptc. med.] *kwäsnaṃane* (MQ), subj. V [abstr.] *kwasalñe\**). The optative 3pl. *kwäsoye(m)* listed in the handbooks is entirely uncertain as pointed out by Couvreur (1954b: 86). The text in question is the fragment 116 S frgm. 10 where /// [k]wā soye /// may stand for almost anything. The basic meaning of this verb is 'to cry out wailingly, wail' as seen most clearly in 88 Š b1 (*kā*)[ly]m[i](m) *spottotrā pacer cwi[m]p* (*ku*)rār-lūwo tu-yāknes(a) *kw[ä]snātrā snai-kärtso* 'his father turns in [all] directions [and] wails in the manner of a sea-eagle'. In 431 MQ a3 we have 'complaining and wailing', in 85 Š b5, 86 MQ a2, and 589 Š b6 we have *orotstsa kwasalñeṣṣa weṣeñña* 'a great wailing voice'. This verb has been etymologically associated with Lat. *queror* 'I complain, lament' (Van Windekens 1962b: 21) to an IE root *\*k<sub>u</sub>es-* 'to groan, sigh; lament, complain', cf. also Skt. *śvāsiti* 'breathes, blows, sighs', Olcel. *hvāsa* 'to hiss', etc. While this is

certainly a tempting root association, there are phonological problems. Disregarding the entirely uncertain *kwāsoye(m)*, the Tocharian forms all begin with *kwās-*. This *kwās-* clearly cannot reflect an IE *e*-grade *\*kues-* which would have suffered palatalization. A zero grade *\*kus-* would in Tocharian yield *\*kās-* (certainly not *\*kwās-* for which the material shows no unequivocal parallels). There might be a way out of this dilemma, however. This verb forms a nasal present and such presents have in Tocharian frequently (always?) replaced their zero grade root vocalism with a new morphological zero grade and at the same time replaced a palatalized initial with its non-palatalized equivalent, cf. B *sinastār* 'he is oppressed' with *sin-* for *\*sān-* < IE *\*si-n-*, *siknam* 'he steps' with *sikn-* for *\*sikn-* < IE *\*sik-n-*, etc., etc. A nasal present (as if) IE *\*kus-n-* that ought to have yielded CT *\*kās-n-* may have received a new morphological zero grade, thus being changed to *\*kwās-n-*. This would mean that this secondary zero grade was generalized in all the zero grade forms of the paradigm, wherefore the subjunctive V zero grade also appears in the form *kwāsā-* (*kwasalñe\**). I see this chain of events as a possibility, but I do not find it entirely satisfying. The following solution seems to me preferable as it would be phonologically entirely regular. Parallel to the IE root *\*kues-* there is the root *\*kuei-* 'to cry out, wail, whine, whistle', as seen in, e.g., ModIcel. *hvía* 'to cry out loud, neigh', OHG *hwaijōn* 'id.', Olcel. *hvína* 'whistle, (Germ.) sausen', OHG *winisōn* 'wail', etc. This root is found with an *s*-extension in Olcel. *hvískra* 'to whisper', *hvísla* 'to whisper, pipe', OCS *svistati* 'to pipe', etc. An IE *\*kuis-* would regularly yield CT *\*kwās-* and this form would emerge as B *kwās-* (facultatively one might also have found *\*kus-*).

B *kwašo\** 'village', see B *kūsiye\**.

B *kwāt-* 'to turn one's attention to' (pres. VIII [1sg.] *kutsau-š*, subj. II [ger.] *kūcalle*, *calle*). The handbooks list these forms under *kuts-* '(Germ.) verklagen?' and *kut-* '(Germ.) abwenden?, beseitigen?', resp. However, it seems possible – and necessary – to look upon *kutsau-š* and *kūcalle* (*calle*) as belonging to the same verb: B *kwāt-* 'to turn to, attend to'. A paradigm pattern of a pres. VIII and a subj. II may not be common, but it is attested, e.g., for the verb *šārp-* 'to show'. Starting with the gerundives, it can be argued on the basis of the occurrence of *calle* in PK AS 16.2 a4, where a contrast is outlined between those, on the one hand, who still have not conquered their worldly longings, viz. *sūkentane trenkältsa per[ne] peñ[y]o mu[s]k[ī](ntār :)* *enkalñentse šarmtsā*

*ywārc yārto[š lk](ā)ntār wertsyamne* : 'through attachment to sense-pleasures, dignity [and] glory disappeared; [there] appear in the congregations [people that are] torn apart by reason of passion', and those, on the other hand, who have done so, viz. *ca[l]le [š] wesām mišenta lau[k](e) tarkam enkalñe* 'but for us [there is] the attending our fields, we will leave the passions far away'. This translation is mostly based on that of Pinault (1989b: 195), except that Pinault takes *calle ... mišenta* to mean "il nous faut écartier ... les champs", understanding *mišenta* as the 'fields of worldly activity', whereas I take it to mean 'the fields of monastic activity'. The two further occurrences (606 Š 1 *calle*, and 606 Š 4 *kūcalle*) do not contradict our translation with 'attending to'. The form *calle* is secondary to *kūcalle*, cf. B *ce* beside *kūce* (obl.sg.) 'who'. This gerundive implies a thematic (pres. or) subj. II formation B *kūcā-/kūté-* from CT *\*kwācā-/kwāté-*. The present VIII form is attested only once, and the context is somewhat difficult: 495 H a4 (= H 150. 103 a4) (*kwri*) *ñ[i] [c](ā)ne mā ai[t] - - k[u]tsau-š tep yamaskemar ceyna cānem l[au] c(ā)rkāwa-š [p]o [prek]s[au]-š m(ā) po š[i]ñk[a](t) [ai]skau lll*. As the 1sg. forms *yamaskemar*, *preksau* and *aiskau* are in the present tense, I think it is correct to take *kutsau* as a present as well, although the 2sg. forms *ait* and *šinkat* are subjunctive forms. I would therefore translate: '(... if) you will not give me the promissory notes. I am turning to you, I make a *tep* (complaint?). I gave you these promissory notes. I ask you (for them) all, (but) you will not return (them). I give ...'. The pres. VIII form *kutsau* reflects a stem form B *\*kwāt-sé-* by regular reduction in the unaccented first syllable as in the subj. II *kūcalle*. Should the meaning of B *kwāt-* 'to turn one's attention to' be correctly posited here, a viable etymological connection can be seen in OCS *čitiq (čisti)* 'I count, read, take account of', Skt. *cétati* 'pays attention to', etc., to the IE (extended) root *\*k<sup>ei</sup>-t-* 'to notice, take account of'. CT *\*kwācā-/kwāté-* would reflect *\*k<sup>ei</sup>-t<sup>h</sup>-* quite regularly (*\*-i-* does not cause palatalization of tectals or *-w-*).

B *kwele* (adj.) 'blackish, dark grey'. On the basis of an unpublished Berlin fragment, K.T. Schmidt (1984: 152-153) was able to determine the meaning of B *kwele* as Skt. 'kāḍaśyāma', i.e. 'blackish, dark-grey'. This meaning fits well in the only other known instance of *kwele* (previously incorrectly seen as a verbal form), i.e. the obl.pl. of 118 MQR b2 [*ya*]tāstsy aulantārne šāñ sām[n]a ke[kt]señ *kwele* erke(ñtām) 'his own people begin to adorn [his] body with dark-grey [and] black ...'. A third instance

of this adjective might now be seen in the form B *k<sub>u</sub>wele*, found in the fragment 319 MQR b1: /// *kärkalle k<sub>u</sub>welesa* /// 'in the dark pond'. For the determination of Tocharian phonological issues, this word is extremely important. As an IE preform one might suggest *\*kiyo-lo-*, an extension of IE *\*kiyo-* as seen in Gmc. *\*hiwa-* 'colour, esp. grey colour', cf. OIcel. *hy* 'fine (esp. grey) hair', Engl. *hue* 'colour', Goth. *hiwi* 'appearance'; note also Mlirish *céo* 'fog' < *\*kiyo-k-s*. IE *\*kiyo-* is a derivative of IE *\*kei-* 'dark colour', cf., e.g., Skt. *śiti-* 'white', *śyāvā-* 'dark, blackish brown', Av. *siiāuua-* 'black', Lith. *šyvas* 'greyish white', etc. IE *\*kiyo-lo-* resulted in CT *\*kāwələ* (*\*k-* is not palatalized by *\*-i-*!) > *\*kuwələ* and this preform yielded B *kwele* (*k<sub>u</sub>wele*) regularly. The initial *kwe-* cannot reflect IE *\*K<sup>u</sup>o-* or *\*Kyo-*, as the labial element would then have been lost.

B *kwentse* '?' is a hapax of W 20 b2. It is the only word legible in the line, and therefore quite opaque.

B *kwerse* '?' is a hapax of W 31 b1 *sā spakiye kwersentse* 'this is the pill for *k*'. Evidently, *kwerse* is the designation of some malady or disorder. If it is not a loanword, the initial *kwe-* indicates a CT preform *\*kāwərsə*, but one might also think of a secondary formation to the root *kwār-* 'to grow old'. Unclear.

B *kwip-* 'to be ashamed' (pres. XII [3pl. med.] *kwipeññentār*, pret. V [3sg. med.] *kwipeññate*) is a denominative formation as seen by the presence of the element *-ññ-* not only in the present but also in the preterite stem, cf. discussion of this verb and other denominatives of present class XII in Hilmarsson 1991b: 82sq. The basis for the verbal *kwipeññäle-* is B *kwipe* 'shame' or a co-existing *n*-stem as could possibly be surmised behind the possessive adjective B *kwipassu* (to the thematic stem *kwipe* one might have expected *\*kwipessu*, cf. B *läklessu* to *lakle* 'pain'). In most cases the denominatives of present class XII are formed to *n*-stems, cf. B *tänkwāññäle-* to the *n*-stem CT *\*tänkwān-*, but the formation may have become productive outside the boundaries of *n*-stems, in which case B *kwipeññäle-* could be formed to the thematic *kwipe*. See also B *kwipe* 'shame' (A *kip*) [B *onkipse* 'shameless'].

B *kwīpe* (gender unknown, sg. only), A *kip* (m. sg.) 'shame, pudenda' is possibly a thematic neuter noun, but an *s*-stem can hardly be excluded. The forms B *kwipe* and *kwīpe* are approximately equally frequent, and the notation of length is not relevant for an assessment of the historical development of this word. The

possessive adj. B *kwipassu*, A *kipsu* 'shameful' (with the derived abstract B *kwipassorñe* 'shamefulness') could indicate an *s*-stem basis, because the suffix *-ssu* forms adjectives to substantives without causing changes in their stem-formational suffixes, cf. B *läklessu* to *lakle* 'pain', *spelkkessu* to *spelkke* 'enthusiasm'. To a thematic *kwipe* one might then have expected *\*kwipessu* and not the attested *kwipassu*. In his comprehensive treatment of these words, K.T. Schmidt (in Schmidt & Strunk 1989) suggests (p. 270) that *kwipassu* could be a late formation, but in my opinion B *\*kwipessu* would then still be expected. This problem might be obviated by assuming that *kwipassu* is formed to an *n*-stem *\*kwipān-* that co-existed with the thematic stem *kwipe*. Further indication of such an *n*-stem would be the denominatively formed verb B *kwipeññäle-* 'to be ashamed' with a formation characteristic of verbs denominatively formed to *n*-stems, see s.v. Etymologically, B *kwipe* and A *kip* present serious problems, not only with regard to finding the underlying IE root and plausible cognates in other IE languages, but also within Tocharian; it is difficult to see how B *kwipe* and A *kip* can match. In his work cited, K.T. Schmidt ingeniously proposed that these Tocharian words are related to Gmc. *\*wība-* 'woman' (cf. Germ. *Weib* 'woman', etc.) with convincing arguments for the semantic development. For Germanic and Tocharian he then posits (p. 272) a neuter *o*-stem *\*ghyeibho-*, *\*ghyūbho-* or *\*ghuipó-* (sic, presumably an error for *\*ghyūpó-*). Actually, K.T. Schmidt is mistaken when he assumes that the Tocharian words require an initial *\*ghy-* instead of *\*g<sup>h</sup>-*, for these sounds merge in Tocharian, but that is not of consequence here. The problem lies in the radical vocalism, the palatalization or lack of it, and in the development of the labiovelar (or tectal plus labial). An IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>heibho-* or *\*ghyeibho-* ought to result in a palatalized form (B *\*śipe*, A *\*śip*) and can therefore be excluded. Behind the *\*-i-* of the proposed IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>hībho-* or *\*ghyūbho-* one is probably to understand *\*-iH-*, or more precisely *\*-iH<sub>1</sub>-*, because of the Tocharian *-i-* and not *\*-yā-*. The question arises whether this ought to cause palatalization in Tocharian or not. While neither Toch. *k* nor *w* are palatalized by an originally short *\*i*, a long *\*ī* does cause palatalization of at least *w*. By long *\*ī* is meant a secondarily lengthened *\*i* as found in the following two relevant examples: B *ikām*, A *wiki* 'twenty' < CT *\*w'ikānn* < IE *\*(d)uikm̥t* < *\*(d)ui-dk̥m̥t* (cf. Hilmarsson 1989b: 123), and B *ite* 'full' < CT *\*w'itae* < IE *\*uitó-* < *\*ui-H<sub>1</sub>i-tó-* ('lit. gone asunder' (cf. Gmc. *\*wīda-z* 'wide', Skt. *vītá-* 'gone away, departed', Hilmarsson 1991a: 182). One would then expect a long

\*ī that has been lengthened through the effect of a laryngeal, i.e. \*-iH<sub>1</sub>-, to have had the same palatalizing effect. Therefore, one might expect \*g<sup>h</sup>hibho- or \*ghuibho- to result in B \*sipe, A \*sip, if the palatalization affected the sequence \*kw- as a whole, but if the palatalization was halted by the \*-w-, then in B \*kiye, A kip (or \*kwip). The lack of palatalization of w before the optative marker is not necessarily pertinent in this connection, because it may have been generalized from those forms where the optative marker was followed by a vowel, i.e. \*-iH<sub>1</sub>-V- > \*-iy-V-; here this marker did not have a long but a short \*i and w was not palatalized by a short \*i. Furthermore, \*g<sup>h</sup>hibho- or \*ghuibho- would through CT \*kwāpæ have resulted in B \*kwape, A \*kup, and we are left where we started with difficult forms. The only way that I can see to save K.T. Schmidt's etymology is as follows. An initial CT \*kw- is preserved in West and East Tocharian only if originally followed by a CT \*-ā- (of whatever provenience). The sequence CT \*kwā- is then realized as B kwā- > kwa- (accented), ku-, k<sub>u</sub>-, kw- (unaccented; the variants to some extent dependent on the syllable structure) and A ku- (generally in monosyllables and in closed syllables), k<sub>u</sub>-, (generally in open syllables), and kw- (a variant of k<sub>u</sub>-). The sequence kwi- of B kwiye is quite unique, although in lack of more examples one might say that this is regular. However, none of K.T. Schmidt's forms, as shown above, would result in B kwiye. One might therefore be tempted to see an original \*kwā- as the initial sequence in B kwiye. That is to say, one might posit the CT preform \*kwāyāpæ. This preform would result in B kwiye, and in A \*kwipa > \*kwip > kip (with indication of the -w- preserved indirectly through the rounding of the prefixal vocalism of B onkipše 'shameless' that because of -kip- must be seen as a borrowing from East Tocharian). CT \*kwāyāpæ would reflect IE \*g<sup>h</sup>hiH<sub>1</sub>ebho- through \*kwiyāpæ and no palatalization occurred before the short \*-i-. Such an IE preform would also yield Gmc. \*wijiba- > \*wība- regularly. The suffixal \*-(e-)bho- could be the suffix seen in many designations of animals (cf. Skt. śalabha- 'locust', vṛṣabha- 'ox', etc.). The motivation for its use in Gmc. \*wība- and B kwiye, A kip, could be that these words were originally designations of the vulva, a part of the female body that frequently draws its name from the name of some small animal, cf. e.g. Germ. Maus, Norw. mus 'mouse, vulva', etc. For a different etymology of these Tocharian words (cognate with Slav. \*kūpŭ 'vulva'), see Blažek 1991a: 123sq., but the phonological problems are even more difficult in

his scheme of things. See also B kwip- 'to be ashamed' [B onkipše 'shameless']].

- B *kwrarāk* 'Moringa pterygosperma, (Skt.) kṣṇagandha-' is a hapax of St a (= St.Ch. 00316 a) a5 where it occurs in a list of things to be eaten or not to be eaten. As implied by the accentuation (\*kwārārāk) this word is presumably not indigenous.
- B *kwraše* (f.) 'skeleton' is a noun of class V,2 (obl.sg. *kwraš*, obl.pl. *kwrašām*). The form in M 3 a7, read by Filliozat<sup>6</sup> as *wī kwraš* 'two skeletons', as if it were a specific dual form, is by Sieg 1955: 82 read *wī kwrašām* (i.e., obl.pl.). Etymologically, this word has been unclear. Van Windekens' compound formation (1976: 248) is unattractive, while Isebaert's suggestion (1980: 74) that *kwraše* is a borrowing from a Middle Iranian \*gurāš 'frame' would fit well, if there were an actually attested Iranian word to confirm it. Instead, it might be suggested that B *kwraše* is a truly indigenous word from CT \*kwārāšæ. This could regularly reflect an IE \*k<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>es-ēn, that is, an n-stem formation to an s-stem \*k<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>es- (> \*k<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>as- through laryngeal colouring) to the root IE \*k<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>erH<sub>2</sub>- / \*k<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>- 'to make, form', cf. Lith. *kūrti* 'to make, build', etc. An s-stem is attested in Gk. *τέρας* 'sign, omen', extended in OIcel. *skyrsi* 'phantom, omen'. An IE \*k<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>es-ēn through \*k<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>as-ēn would yield CT \*kwārāšæ > B *kwraše* regularly. The semantic development from 'form' to 'skeleton' seems acceptable.
- A *kwreyunt* (n. nom.pl. [hapax]) 'growth, fruits' is found only in the compound *štām-kwreyunt* 'tree-fruits' (so K.T. Schmidt 1969: 129). This plural presupposes a singular A *kwre\**, presumably from \*kwäre, that could be an original *nomen actionis* ('growth') to the verb A *kwär-* 'to grow old'. That is, A *kwre\** could be seen as an earlier class VI,1 noun (type A *āklye* 'doctrine' to *ākl-* 'to learn, teach'), transferred to class III,1, cf. A *kālyme* 'direction', *sāle* 'salt', *kācke* 'joy', that have suffered a similar transfer (to class III,2). A *kwre\** < \*kwäre would represent CT \*kwāriyæ, ultimately a derivative from a stem in (as if) IE \*-en-. See also B *kwär-* 'to grow old, weak' (A *kwär-*), B *kwārāš* (m. obl.sg.) 'stools' [B *onkrocce*, A *onkrac* 'immortal', A *onkraci* 'immortality']].
- B *kwri* (conj.) 'if', A *kupre* (interrog. pron.-adv.) 'if, whether', *kuprene* (conj.) 'if'. Beside B *kwri* one finds the variants *kwry*,

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Filliozat 1948: 94, 102.

*kūri*, *kūi*, *kūī*, and beside A *kupre* one finds *kūpre*, *kuppre*. In B *kūi*, *kūī* a metathesis of the labial element has taken place, possibly to be seen in connection with an allegro pronunciation of this unaccented or weakly accented word. B *kwri* may represent earlier *\*kwprī* < *\*kwäprī* that would match A *kupre* < *\*kwäpre*; for CT one may posit the preform *\*kwäprāi* that produced B *kwri* as shown above. A *kupre* may possibly reflect that preform as well, cf. such correspondences as the thematic nom.pl. B *-i*, A *-e*. It is also possible that the reduction of final *\*-oi* to *\*-äi* took place only in unaccented position and that there was an accented alternant *\*-oi* > CT *\*-æi*. A *-e* might then reflect the accented, B *-i* the unaccented alternant. It should be noted, however, that in the *n*-stem noun class VI,1 we also find the correspondence B *-i*, A *-e* (obl.sg. B *kalymi*, A *kälyme* 'quarter, region'), probably somehow reflecting CT *\*-än-*. Under that perspective one might therefore also posit a CT *\*kwäpr'än-*. The element *\*-präi*/*\*-præi* or *\*-prän-* is by Van Windekens 1976: 244 associated with Gk. *-φρα* (cf. Gk. *ὅφρα* 'in order that', *τόφρα* 'up to that time') to the IE root *\*bher-* 'to bear'; for a further discussion of this, see under A *-pre*, *-preṃ*. For the first element CT *\*kwä-*, two proposals may be made. Either it simply reflects the Tocharian stem form as seen in the interrogative pronoun B *kūse*, A *kus*. This would mean that B *kwri*, A *kupre* is an internal Tocharian creation. Or, one might see the connection with the Greek forms *ὅφρα* and *τόφρα* as reflecting something old, in which case one would reconstruct an IE preform with *\*k'o-*. That form would, of course, be expected to yield CT *\*k'æ-* > B *\*ke-*, A *ka-*, but, again, if there was a development of *\*-o-* to *\*-ä-* in weakly accentuated position, the result would be CT *\*kwä-* > B *\*kwä-*, A *ku-*. See also B *kā* 'why', B *katu* 'for, namely', B *kātsi* 'why then', B *kos* 'how much' (A *kos*), B *ksa* 'some(body)', B *kūse* 'who' (A *kus*), B *kūtamem* 'from where', A *kūyal* 'why' [[B *mäksu* 'who']].

## L

- A *lotäk*, see B *klautke* 'manner, conduct'.  
 A *lotk-*, see B *klautk-* 'to turn, become'.  
 A *-lte*, see A *kāwälte* derived from *lät-*, *länt-*.  
 A *lutk-*, see B *klutk-* 'to turn oneself'.

## N

- B *nān-* 'to appear, be shown' (pres. or subj. V [vb. adj.] *nānāmo* (H 149. 50 a4), subj. V [3sg. med.] *nanātär*, [opt. 3sg. med.] *nanoytär*, pret. Ib [3pl. med.] *nanāṃte* (G-Su 3), caus. pres. IX [3sg.] *nānāṣṣām*). B *nān-* presumably reflects earlier *\*knān-*, and is therefore cognate with A *knā-* 'to know', etc., as suggested by Van Windekens (1972: 103, 1976: 311). The unexpected loss of initial *k-* is reminiscent of the likewise unexpected loss of *k-* in A *lutk-*, *lotk-* 'to turn' as against B *klutk-*, *klautk-* 'id.'. Semantically, B *nān-* 'to appear, be shown' can be understood as an aspect of 'to be known; make known', clearly relatable to the meaning 'to know' of A *knā-*. In B *nān-* the second nasal reflects an original nasal present affix that has been generalized in the entire paradigm. The verbal adj. *nānāmo* can be formed either to a pres. or a subj. stem, but *\*nānā-* would be the original present stem, identical with the pres. stem A *knānā-*. The pres. stem B *\*knānā-*, being historically a pres. VI, must have been accompanied originally by a subj. I (or V) *\*knā-*, and that stem is indeed still seen in the subj. derivative B *aknātsa* 'ignorant', A *āknats* 'id.', *q.v.* B *nānā-* and A *knānā-* reflect CT *\*knānā-* from (as if) IE *\*ǵnH<sub>3</sub>-n-H<sub>3</sub>-* (like Skt. *jānāti*) or from *\*ǵn-H<sub>3</sub>-* > CT *\*kānā-* plus a repeated present marker *\*-nā-* to the IE root *\*ǵneH<sub>3</sub>-* 'to



know'. See also A *knā*- 'to know', A *kñā*- 'to acknowledge, recognize(?)', A *kñas*- 'to recognize', A *kāmts*- 'to admit, recognize', B *aknātsa* 'ignorant, unknowing' (A *āknats*), B *nāne* 'pretense'.

B *nāne*-(gender unknown; [*hapax*]) 'pretense, simulation' is probably to be read this way, rather than as *tāte*. This reading and the translation are prompted by the likelihood of a connection with the verb B *nān*- 'to appear; be shown', to which *nāne* would be a regularly formed abstract noun of the type B *klautke* 'manner' to *klutk*- 'to turn', etc. Most likely, *nāne* is a Tocharian creation of that pattern.

## Ñ, Ñ

B *ñake* (adv.) 'now', with the verse alternant *ñke* (cf. Thomas 1979), reflects CT *\*ñākæ*. Because of the palatal initial this form cannot be associated with IE *\*nū/\*nū* 'now'. The first syllable presumably reflects an IE demonstrative *\*ne*-, cf. Skt. *ná* 'as', Gk. *-ve* (e.g. *δ-ve*), Lat. *-ne* (e.g. *ego-ne*), etc., while the second syllable reflects CT *\*-kæ*, presumably from IE *\*-gho*. B *ñake* < CT *\*ñākæ* would thus reflect IE *\*ne-gho*, cf. SCr. *nēgo* 'than' (with comparatives). See also B *ñke* 'but'. For *ñā*-, see also ...<sup>7</sup> For *-ke*, see also B *-k* (A *-k*), A *ka*, A *kar* 'even, indeed', B *ka* (A *-k* partly?), B *taka* 'then, indeed', *yaka* 'still, yet'.

B *ñke* (conj.) 'but, though' reflects earlier *\*ñke* < *\*ñāke* from CT *\*ñākæ*. This form is thus identical with B *ñake* (Krause & Thomas 1960: 170), with the difference that *ñke* is always unaccented, whereas B *ñake*, the verse alternant of B *ñake*, presumably transferred its accent to the final syllable when metrical syncope took place. Also, the prose alternant *ñake* was a deterrent to any assimilation in the verse form *ñke*. See also B *ñake* 'and'. For *ñ*-, see also ...<sup>8</sup> For *-ke*, see also B *-k* (A *-k*), A *ka*, A *kar* 'even, indeed', B *ka* (A *-k* partly?), B *taka* 'then, indeed', *yaka* 'still, yet'.

<sup>7</sup> Unfinished; the author intended to give references regarding *\*nēbo*-.

<sup>8</sup> Unfinished; the author intended to give references regarding *\*nēbo*-.

## O

A *oklop* (prep.-adv.) 'in danger' reflects an earlier prepositional phrase CT *\*æn + klépæ* 'in danger, in misfortune'. CT *\*-æ*-yielded A *-ap-* > *-op-* and this caused *o*-umlaut in the prefix syllable. Discussion in Hilmarsson 1991a: 130sq. See also A *klop* 'suffering, misfortune'.

## P

B *-pänta* in *kokalpänta* 'charioteer'.

A *pärrä-krase*, see B *kärsk*- 'to let fly, shoot'.

# R

B *ratre*, A *rtär*, adj. 'red' [< \**rätär* < \**rätr* < \**rättra*] < CT \**rättræ* < \**rättré* < IE \**H<sub>1</sub>rudhró-*, cf. Gk. *ἐρυθρός* 'red', etc. Fem. sg. B *rtarya*, A *rätri*\* (gen.sg. *rtärye*). Abstr. B *rätrauñe*. See A *rote*\*.

A *rote*\* (pl. *roteyāntu*) n. 'rouge, red painting-colour' < \**rautey* < \**rauteyā* < CT \**rautānān* ← \**rautān-(m)ān* < (as if) IE \**H<sub>1</sub>roudhn-(m)n*.

# S

B *su* 'he, this', see B *katu* 'for, namely'.

# Ś

B *śak* 'ten', see B *kante* 'hundred' (A *kānt*).

B *śäktäl̥ye* 'seed' is derived from the subjunctive stem of B *kät-* 'to scatter' with preserved reduplication.

B *śatkai* (adv.) 'very', with the eastern dialect variant *śitkai*, is a petrified obl.sg. to an unattested nom.sg. *śatko*\* that presumably had the meaning 'transgression, excess', cf. also the prefixed B *eśatkai* 'very, in excess'. In East Tocharian, the adjectival *śatko* (thus in 371 a5, but *śatko* in a4) < \**śātkāw* < \**śātkā-wānt-* 'having a transgression, (i.e.) having transgressed' appears to be formed to an obl.sg. \**śātkā* (cf. B *wetā<sub>u</sub>* 'fighter' to *weta* 'fight' to *wāt-* 'to fight') of which B *śatko*\*, obl. *śatkai*, might be an *n*-stem extension. Ultimately derived from the verb BA *kātk-* 'to pass, transgress', *q.v.*

B *śātka<sub>rom</sub>* 'leeches' must have a genuine *e*-vocalism, possibly some connection to *kātk-* 'to pass, transgress', *kātk-* 'to arise, stand up'???

A *śātko* (*śatko*) 'having a transgression', see B *śatkai* 'very'.

B *śerkw*, A *śorkäm*\* 'string'. The vowel A -o- shows that the form had a labiovelar. See also B *kärk-* 'to bind, connect' (A *kärk-*), B *kerketse*\* 'fetter', A *kärkšim* 'fetter'.

A *śutāk* '(Germ.) Schilfgras, (Skt.) muñja' with B *kātkare* 'deep'.

## T

B *taka* (particle) 'then, indeed', with the verse alternant *tkā* (cf. Thomas 1979), reflects CT *\*tākā* that clearly contains as its second element the (enclitic) particle *\*kā* (B *ka*). For the first element, Van Windekens (1976: 491) posits the IE particle *\*tu* (> Toch. *\*tā*) 'but, or, and' which is quite possible formally. Alternatively – and preferably – one might associate CT *\*tā-* here with the IE pronominal stem *\*to-*. A neuter *\*to-d* appears in B *te* 'it' < CT *\*tæ* regularly, but an unaccented development to B *tā-*, A *tā-*, is seen in B *tamp* 'this there, that', A *tāš* 'this, the latter', etc. See also: ...<sup>9</sup> For *-ka*, see also B *-k* (A *-k*), A *ka*, A *kar* 'even, indeed', B *ka* (A *-k* partly?), B *ñake* 'and', B *ñke* 'but', *yaka* 'still, yet'.

A *tkam* 'earth, ground', see B *keṃ*.

A *tkani* 'of the ground', see B *kañiye* (sic for *keñiye*\*).

## Y

B *yak* (particle) 'still, yet'. See B *yaka*.

B *yaka* (particle) 'still, yet' reflects CT *\*tākā* that clearly contains as its second element the (enclitic) particle *\*kā* (B *ka*). For *-ka*, see also B *-k* (A *-k*), A *ka*, A *kar* 'even, indeed', B *ka* (A *-k* partly?), B *ñake* 'and', B *ñke* 'but', B *taka* 'then, indeed'.<sup>10</sup>

B *yñkaum*, *in̄kaum*, A *ykoṃ* 'by day', see B *kaum* 'sun; day' (A *koṃ*), A *-koñi* '-day'.

<sup>9</sup> Unfinished; the author intended to give references regarding *te/tā-*.

<sup>10</sup> Unfinished; the author intended to comment on B *yak*, *ykāk*, and, perhaps, B *yakte*, *yäkte*, *yekte*, etc.

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